













THE  
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FOR

MARCH AND JUNE, 1826.

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Ὁ φίλος, εἰ σοφὸς εἶ, λάβε μ' ἐξ' χέρους· εἰ δέ γε πάνπαν  
Νῆϊς ἔως Μουσέων, ῥίψον ἅ μὴ νοέις.

EPICR. INCERT.

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MARCH, 1826.

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LETTERS OF CONRAD GESNER.

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MR. HANHAART, the principal pastor at Winterthur in Switzerland, is preparing for press an edition of the letters of CONRAD GESNER, the Naturalist, of Zurich. Many of them have never before been published; and from a specimen with which I have been favored it appears likely that they will possess much interest. In the course of that small part of the correspondence which I have seen letters occur to or from Zuingle the reformer, Bullinger, Theodore Bibliander, Fabricius Capito, Conrad Pellican, Leo Judæ, and other distinguished characters of the age. Statements of passing events are of course intermingled, sometimes incidentally introduced, sometimes more fully detailed, and they may indeed supply some materials for history. Your readers may perhaps be gratified with the following specimen :

XV.

Eruditissimo, sacrarum litterarum perito, D. H. Bullingero, præceptori observando.

Argentiniæ relictis Parisiis quinto Iduum Decembris veni, simul quod majorem sumptum in dies facerem, simul etiam, quod tantæ Tyrannidis, quantam vos pridem audisse credo, spectator esse non sustinerem. Nam quod ad litteras Germania nostra nihil Galliis codere videbatur. Sed tantos motus et tragœdiæ initium si quidem jam audivisti, hæc mea præterito; sin mihi, perlege. Fixi ab inconsultis quibusdam libelli Gallice scripti, in Novo Castro (Nenckstet), ut rumor est, unpressi, (plerique ad Farellum et quendam Augustinianum Monachum autores referunt) Thema erat contra Missæ abusum, et præ-

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sentis corporis in Eucharistia negatio. Eadem autem nocte Parisiis, Anrethia, sive Gennèbi, et in regii cubiculi janua affixi sunt. Hinc belli initium: capti innumeri: rumor circiter trecentos et ultra fert: novis et inauditis modis tormentur, longe miserrime comburuntur, cruuntur linguæ, manus præabscinduntur. Sunt porro in certas tabulas infinita capiendorum nomina relata. Sed duo studiosi, huc ad nos nudius-quartus venerunt fuga e Galliis elapsi, et mulier quædam nobilissima cum famulis et nobilibus: illi aiunt decem tantummodo hucusque combustos, regem Parisios venire; hujus iudicium, cum tantus sit captorum numerus, senatum expectare. Ego tam dira et atrocita ne vel spectarem vel audirem, commode socios itineris nactus discessi. Ante vero quam hæc exerirentur, mirum in modum omnes pii scripta tua amplectebantur, sollicitè emebant, honorificentissime te unum et amplissime prædicabant. Sed hac tempestate, cum singulæ fere domus perquirerentur, omnes piorum lucubrationes partim Vulcani datae, partim in Sequanam abjectæ. Ego et doctus quidam Hispanus cum multa haberem, tandem ab hospite deprehensi sumus, qui secus ferre noluit, nisi ad Ecclesiasten aliquem, qui nos absolveret, res deferretur. Nos effecimus, ut apud Episcopi fratrem ejus tum vicarium et Evangelii fautorem ageretur. Sic quidem evasimus. Jam etiam ipse captus detinetur; in fratrem enim, Episcopum Parisiensem, licet Evangelicæ scient, nihildum audent. Sic omnia infestiores *κλαγγὴ τ' ἰσση τι*. Sed clam aliquot *χιλιάδας τῶν τῆς ἐκδοξίας ἔχοντων σιγῇ μίνα πείουσας* speramus et partim certo scimus.

Budeum quoque non est quod dubites: noster est totus, cum doctissimis quibusque. Sed hæc diactenus.

Frisius hoc tempore ad iter accinctus non erat; nam et tumor et inflammatio cruris obstabat, tum nonnihil cum febre luctabatur, et bonam linguæ Gallicæ partem tenebat, quod non pergenti frustra fuisset futurum, et minus quam ego sumptuum faciebat. Quanquam mihi, ne vivam si pariori esse licuerit. Libros non paucos et probatissimos emi: huc ad me spero propediem mittentur. Abitu fere biennio: viginti sex Coronatos pro annua portione, sic vocant, numeravi. Multum primo itinere Parisios, inde Biturigas, et idem iter repetens huc Argentinam expendi. Et ne vestes, libros, et quicquid *ἐς τὰ δῶτα* requiritur enarrando molestior sim, quam a Pericle Athenienses, eandem a the quoque veram expensi rationem dari credatis. Si vos modicum frumenti pro Coronato computetis, stipendium annuum erit viginti quinque coronati, ut ego quidem computo. Ego duobus his annis sexaginta quinque Coronatos insumpsi. Acepi et Petri Cholini Tugini stipendio quinquaginta Francos, id est, viginti duo Coronatos cum Tesano, ut vocant: ab Andrea Wyngaertner novem Coronatos, abiens quatuordecim a vobis, et vos decem misistis. Forte quindecim Coronatos ultra sortem meam hoc toto biennio impendi.

Andreas Wyngaertner cum nobili quadam Gaffa muliere Argentinæ est. Resciverunt enim libros Lutheranorum invexisse. Uxor capta detinetur, bonorum et librorum confiscatio penes iudices est, id quod Frochovero indicabitis. Petro Tugino imprimis satisfieri etiam atque etiam petimus; ingenue enim, et amico, et liberaliter suo nos stipendio uti concessit. Speramus vos (qua estis humanitate) non tam *ἀποτόμως* nobiscum acturos. Et ty quoque, si fœministi, abituris pollicebare, si quid præter sortem usus postularet, non defuturos vos.

Hic in ædibus Bucerii vivo, quem Marpurgi propediem rediturnum exspectamus. Dum hic ero, in Hebræis litteras incumbam. Unica

in te et plurima spes est; potes enim. Ne igitur nos tuo amore, benevolentia, et patrocinio destitutos patiaris etiam atque etiam obtestamur. Salvere jube omnes Symmystas tuos, et præceptores meos Ammianum et Collinum, tum studiosos omnes, patrum meum, matrem meam, et Dominum Joh. Friceium.<sup>1</sup>

Argentinae in ædibus Bucerii,  
xxvii Decembris, 1584.

Tuum mancipium,  
CONRADUS GESNERUS.

For further extracts there will not, I am aware, be room, but I hope that the work may obtain what the editor seems very anxious to secure for it, the countenance and approbation of literary men in this country.

T. P. P.

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## CLASSICAL CRITICISM.

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I TAKE the liberty to send a few miscellaneous emendations and remarks on passages of the classics, some of which may perhaps be thought worthy of insertion. My knowledge is not sufficiently extensive to enable me to be sure whether in every instance they are original; but I have generally consulted some one very recent edition of the author.

Æschylus, Choëph. 945. ed. Blomfield.

κρατεῖται πῶς τὸ θεῖον παρὰ τὸ μὴ  
ὑπουργεῖν κακοῖς.  
ἀξιον οὐρανοῦχον ἀρχὰν σέβειν.  
πᾶρα τὸ φῶς ἰδεῖν μέγα δ' ἀφηρέθη  
ψάλιον οἴκων.

*Kratei de pōs* (or *πως*), says Blomfield, Portus and Stanley read; and so he reads too, especially as the metre suits better so: "Imperium obtinet quodammodo divinitas ex eo quod malis operam non præstat." Surely to elicit this interpretation from the words, consistently with grammar, or to elicit any meaning from this interpretation, consistently with common sense, is rather a difficult undertaking. It strikes me as so plain, that I cannot conceive it should have been overlooked, that there

<sup>1</sup> I am not answerable for some anomalies and inaccuracies of construction which appear in this letter. They are to be attributed either to the writer or the copyist.

should be a stop at *θεῖον*; and *πάρα* be read instead of *παρά*, as in the following passage, *πάρα τὸ φῶς ἰδεῖν*, which is twice repeated in the stanza.

*Κρατεῖ δέ πως τὸ θεῖον*: "The Divine justice and power may now be said to triumph."—*Πάρα τὸ μὴ ὑπουργεῖν κακοῖς*: "The time is at length come for us no longer to truckle to the wicked."

*Ἄξιον*, &c. is a repetition and enforcement of the former of these sentences; and *μέγα δ' ἀφηρέθη*, &c. of the latter.

In ver. 1055. of the same play, I should be inclined to read

*παιδόμοροι μὲν πρῶτον ὑπῆρξαν  
μόχθοι, τάλανός τε Θυέστου,*

rather than *τάλανός τε*, as was the reading before Blomfield, or *παιδοβόροι* and *τάλανός γε*, as he reads. *Παιδοβόροι* is a very cacophonous word: and the sufferings of the children themselves in being murdered, and those of Thyestes in having them served up to him, are distinct, and may well be coupled by the conjunction *τε*, and yet are sufficiently connected, to form, together, one only of the three periods, or *storms*, as the poet here calls them, of the calamities of the family of Pelops.

Agam. 1564. ed. Blomf.

*κτεάνων τε μέγρος  
βαλὺν ἐχούσῃ πᾶν ἀπόχρη μοι*, &c.

*Πᾶν* perhaps rather means, "but little in all," like *δυώδεκα πᾶσαι*, &c., than *omnino sufficit*.

1388. *ὃς οὐ προτιμῶν ὥσπερ εἰ βοτοῦ μόνον,*

*ἔθυσεν αὐτοῦ παῖδα* —.

"Constructio est," says Bl. "*ὃς οὐ πρὶν. μόν. παιδός, ἀλλ' ὥσπερ β. μ. τιμῶν.*" It is rather as if *οὐ προτιμῶν* were one word, as we say, *non-conformists*, &c. and as Euripides says in the *Hippolytus*,

*δι' ἀπειροσύναν ἄλλου βιότου  
κούκ-ἀπόδειξιν τῶν ὑπὸ γαίης.*

1469. *κεῖσαι δ' ἀράχνης ἐν ὑφάσματι τῷδ'  
ἀσεβεῖ θανάτῳ βίβν' ἐκπνέων  
ὦ μοι, μοι, κοῖταν τάχ' ἀνελεύθερον  
δολίῳ μόνῳ δαμεί,* &c.

Blomfield says, "*ὦ μοι - - - ἀνελεύθερον* per parenthesis interjecta monet Butlerus." "*ὦ μοι μοι* is so certainly, as is usual in tragic poets. But *κοῖταν* is the accusative case after *κεῖσαι*, like *κράτος κρατύνει*, 1446-7. *ἕμνον ἕμνειν*, 1450. *αἰνεῖς αἶνον*, 1458-9. in many other places of Attic writers.

1484. *Πῶ*; *πῶ*; is condemned, and *πῶς* substituted. But *πῶ*, according to Stephens, is in Homer used affirmatively for

πῶς : why not in Æschylus interrogatively? Πάμαλα, a very Attic word, is derived by Harpocration from πᾶ, Dorice for πόθεν. So we may choose either sense.

Persæ, 172. (ed. Blomf.) Μῆτ' ἀχρημάτοισι λάμπειν φῶς, ὅσον σθένος πάρα. I should rather like to read ὅσοις.

Hesychius: ἀθετῶς ἀθέσμως ἢ συγκαταθειμένως. Δισχύλος Προμηθεὶ Δεσμώτη. Lege οὐ, says Bentley, Ep. ad Mill. 67. Rather ἢ οὐ : they are two different meanings; contrary to right; or arbitrarily, independently of the other gods.

Meleager, in Brunck, Anal. t. i. p. 2.

Λυχνίδα τ' Εὐφορίωνος, ἰδ' ἐν Μούσαισιν ἄμεινον

Ὅς Διὸς ἐκ κούρων ἔσχεν ἐπωνυμίην.

Read ἄμωμον, atomum. All the poets are described as different plants or flowers, as Euphorion here, by a lychnis (Dioscorides is alluded to).

Sappho, Hymn to Venus, (Brunck.)

— τίνα δ' αὖτε πείθημι

μι σαγήνεσαν φιλοτάτα;

I have never observed the different reading, πείθη μ' εἰσάγην ἐς σὰν φιλοτάτα, proposed; which seems natural, though I do not pretend to say which is best.

I should have observed that in the Agamemnon, 1278-9.

φεῦ, φεῦ!

τί τοῦτ' ἔφραξας;

should probably be φῦ, and ἔφραξας, an interjection of smelling, as in Lysistrata, φῦ, φῦ· ἰοῦ, ἰοῦ τοῦ κάπνου! not of lamentation. The verb, in either case, is coined to follow the interjection, as ὤζειν and οἰμῶζειν. So in Fletcher's Valentinian,

Æt. Alas, my Maximus!

Max. Alas not me!

What follows in Æschylus relates to smell.

Κα. φόνον δόμοι πνέουσιν αἵματοσταγῇ.

Χο. καὶ πῶς τόδ' ὀζει θυμάτων ἐφρεστίων;

Κα. ὁμοῖος ἀτμός ὥσπερ ἐκ τάφου πρέπει, &c.

The second of which lines seems to run more naturally so, than as Blomfield, Pauw, and Butler gave it, καὶ πῶς; τόδ' ὀζει, &c. without an interrogation at the end: "How can such a smell proceed from," &c.

Catullus, de Coma Berenices, 80. (Döring, p. 25. vol. 2.) 'Non prius unanimis corpora conjugibus Tradite,' &c. Döring doubts of this reading, because it ought to be ne. But in this poem, being a translation, the expression is often inverted and awkward; and probably he means here, Tradite corpora conjugibus qui non prius erunt unanimi quam (i. e. qui non erunt unanimi nisi) jucunda mihi munera libet onyx.

Sallust, p. 303, (Cortii,) the "Non ita est" in Cæsar's speech is ill compared to "Ita est" in Cicero : it is from the opposite or Attic style, in which these speeches are written : οὐκ ἔστι ταῦτα, we have in Demosthenes continually. (Cortius, p. 807. notes it.) Vos cunctamini etiam nunc, is more like the arrangement of Demosthenes than of Cicero : ἢ ἀποθέσθαι φημι δεῖν ἤδη. Phil. 1.

P. 333. Sin in tanto omnium timore solus non timet, eo magis refert, &c. I think he means covertly to say that there is reason to fear not the danger only, but Cæsar himself, and alludes to the passage in Demosthenes (4. Philipp.) οἰδοῖκα τοῦτον, ὅστις ἂν ἢ ποτ', ἔγωγε, ἐπειδὴ οὐχ οὗτος Φιλίππον.

346. Effœta parentum : surely to construe this as pulchra Dearum is very harsh. Partuum would be better, and perhaps effœtâ, i. e. γιγνομένης τῆς πολέως, quasi effœta facta fuisset ; absolutely.

808. Avaritiam, imperitiam, superbiam ; refers to the three generals ; Bestia, Albinus, or rather Aulus, Metellus.

In the fragment of Euripides which Diodorus quotes (20, 41.) about Lamia,

τίς τοῦνομα τὸ ἐπονείδιστον βροτοῖς  
οὐκ οἶδε Λαμίας Λιβυστικῆς γένος ;

where τοῦνομ' αἰσχρὸν has been proposed ; I should rather think it was

τίς τοῦνομαστὸν ἀπονείδιστον βροτοῖς  
οὐκ οἶδε Λαμίας τῆς Λιβυστικῆς γένος ;

This appears neater than supposing that τῆς Λ. γ. ("her who was an African by descent") came in at the end after the sentence was finished.

Petit (LL. Att. p. 189. ed. Wessel.) quoting the law of Solon, that no *privilegium* should be enacted, *unless* by 6,000 voting secretly or by ballot ; observes, "That there were 20,000 Athenian citizens : to make a majority, therefore, he says, more than 10,000 must be of one mind ; then, in this particular case, of these 10,000, 6,000 were to vote secretly." This seems a very odd conceit. He supposes that the 20,000, who had the right to vote, always in fact met. But this is not likely ; and we learn from Thucydides, 8. 72, that it did not happen so. He there says, that it was used as an argument, in favor of the δήμου κατάλυσις, which vested the power in a body of 5,000 ; that even under the open democracy, it had seldom happened that so many, as 5,000 actually attended an ἐκκλησία. Six thousand therefore, is a large number, not a small one, and perhaps the law only meant that there should be as many as that present ; as Cornelius enacted that 200 senators should be present to vote

## Classical Criticism.

a payment of public money (Ascon. in Cic. Cornelianam), and as a larger quorum than usual is required in our House of Commons, when election committees are balloted for. Lysias, speaking of the ἐκκλησία which met at Munychia, says it decreed ἐν διαχιλλοῖς.

The lately discovered fragments of Cicero's speech against Clodius in the senate, and of the commentary on it, have explained the passage in his letters to Atticus, where he gives an account of one of his answers to Clodius's jokes. "Narra, inquam, patrono tuo, qui Arpinates aquas concupiverit." This, it now appears, relates to Curio, Clodius's counsel, who had bought an estate which belonged to C. Marius (the *Arpinas alius* of Juvenal), and which was near these same hot springs of Baiae. But then surely the words which follow in Cicero's letter, "nosti enim marinas," should be, "nosti enim Marianas; or, nosti enim emissee Marianas, or, nosti emissee Mar., or, nosti Marianas. They were formerly supposed to be part of what he said to Clodius, and to relate to his capture, when young, by pirates, from which certain disgraceful consequences were surmised to have ensued; and by reference to these words, some meaning of the same kind was supposed, especially on account of the word concupiverit, to belong to the preceding words "narra," &c., which are now clearly explained otherwise. But "nosti," &c. seem better to be addressed to Atticus; they are the natural form of explaining an allusion, by reminding him of something it referred to; and this allusion, abridged too as it was in the letter, wanted some explanation. (The passage is in Mai's edition, of Milan, 1814, p. 20.)

In the valuable fragment of the speech for Rabirius, lately recovered in the same manner, (Romæ, 1820, edente Niebuhrio, p. 77.) Cicero says, "Hisce autem malis magnum præsidium vobis majores vestri reliquerunt, vocem illam consulis, qui rempublicam salvam esse volt." Perhaps it is a needless observation, but from its being printed thus, it should seem as if it was supposed that qui, &c. was part of the sentence, and that consulis was the antecedent to qui. But qui—volt is the quotation of the vox itself of the consul, the terms in which he called on the people to join him, after he had been empowered to do so by the other vox, that of the senate, (Cæsar, B. C. i. 7. ibid. cit. a Niebuhrio) darent magistratus operam ne quid R. P. detrimenti caperet.—In Cicero's speech for Cornelius he also recited this vox of the consul. Asconius, p. 137..

The last line of Phædrus, which is the answer of the old dog to his master's contemptuous remarks on the decay of his former

strength and qualifications, has been variously altered by the commentators, so that one would think no dog of any description,

Mastiff, greyhound, mongrel grim,  
Hound or spaniel, brach or lym,  
Or bobtail tike, or trundle-tail—

need go unsuited with a line to his taste out of so great a collection :—

Quod fuimus, laudas ; jam damnas, quod sumus.

(This is the reading of the Mss.)

Quod fuimus laudasti, jam damnas, quod sumus.

Quod fuimus laudas, jam damnas quod non sumus.

Quod fuimus laudas ? jam dedamnas quod sumus.

Quod fuimus laudas, dum damnas, quod nunc sumus.

Quod fuimus lauda, non damna, quod jam sumus.

Quod fuimus lauda, si jam damnas quod sumus.

Quod fuimus laudas, etiam damnas quod sumus.

And these different readings, Schwabe, the late editor, (who adopts the first conjecture,) says, contained the same meaning ; but some appear to be the extreme of flatness, while others must intend to convey this thought, I suppose :—" I am so altered from what I was, that condemnation of my present state is an implied commendation of my original excellence." Evidently then it should be,

Quod fuimus laudas, si damnas quod jam sumus.

As critics should always give the rest of mankind their revenge, (*Cædimus inque vicem*, &c.) I have added some attempts at translation of some Greek epigrams, endeavoring to keep to the arrangement of the words and effect produced by it.

*Δίρφυος, ἐδμήθημεν ὑπὸ πτυχί, &c.* Simonides. Brunck, i. p. 135.

A. Dirplys' foot we fell ; near Aulis stands  
Our tomb, rear'd stately by our country's hands.  
'Twas due :—life's cheerful prime we lost for them,  
Biding, unscar'd, black war's rough cloud to stem.

*Τὸν τραγόπουν ἐμὲ Πᾶνα, &c.* Ib. p. 131.

Me Pan, the goat-footed, the Medæus' fear,  
Th' Athenians' help, Miltiades set here.

*Ἦ ἴτε, &c.* (by the later Simonides probably ; ) *ibid.* p. 138.

Go to the fane of Ceres, votaries, go,  
Nor fear the swelling torrent's wintry flow ;  
O'er the broad stream so firm this yoke of stone  
For you has Xenocles of Lindus thrown.

Κρηθίδα τὴν πολύμυθον, &c. Callimachus. Brunck, i. p. 474.

Crethis, young prattler, full of graceful play,  
Vainly the maids of Samos seek all day;  
Cheerfullest workmate; ever talking;—she  
Sleeps here,—that sleep, from which none born can flee.

It is astonishing what a turn the Greeks had for epitaphs, of domestic feeling, as I may call them. In our language I believe there is none of any merit. That of Callimachus on Crethis was a great favorite with the late Dr. Cyril Jackson.

F. H.

I will add one other suggestion, of a change of punctuation only, in the Orestes:

ἐκοῦσαν, οὐκ ἄκουσαν ἐπισείσω πῶλιν,  
σοὶ, σὴ τ' ἀδελφῇ λεύσιμον δοῦναι δίκην.

ver. 605. & 6. of Porson.

Porson says “δοῦναι δίκην, quod alibi fere sonat *pænas pendere, judicium subire*, hic rarissimo usu ponitur pro eodem prope quod Latine dicitur *jus dare vel reddere*.” It seems odd then that he should not have read, (especially with ver. 249. in his mind,)

ἐκοῦσαν, οὐκ ἄκουσαν ἐπισείσω πόλιν,  
σοὶ σὴ τ' ἀδελφῇ, λεύσιμον δοῦναι δίκην.

scil. ὥστε ὑμᾶς δοῦναι. Ἐπισείειν has an accusative and dative in the same manner in the well known passage, ver. 249.

ὦ μήτηρ, ἱκετεύω σε, μὴ 'πίσειέ μοι  
τὰς αἱματωποὺς καὶ δρακοντῶδεις κόρας.

## REMARKS ON

DR. GÖTTLING'S *Essay on the Theory of Greek Accentuation*.

No. II.—[Concluded from No. LXIV.]

As the accent is so important for the prosody of modern languages, we indulge ourselves so much the more in a digression on this interesting subject, now that we have once entered on a comparison of the modern languages with the Greek, respecting the general principles of pronunciation.

The metrical prosody of the modern languages is established



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on the accent ; it has, consequently, for its foundation, a principle entirely diverse from that, on which the Greek prosody was built. The prosodical element of the syllables in the Greek language rested, as we have remarked, in the quantity, i. e. in the natural shortness or length of *time* comparatively required for the utterance of the syllables ; but the prosody of modern languages rests on the accent, i. e. on the stress (acute elevation) of the voice, by which one syllable is energetically distinguished from the rest. Now it is certain, to be sure, that the modern languages also have syllables, *naturally* long and short ; but in respect of *prosody*, every thing depends on the tone (accent) ; and a syllable, which, naturally, is short, (v. c. ùp in ùproar) is long in prosody, if it bear the accent ; and again, a syllable, which, by nature, is long, is short in prosody if it be destitute of the accent (v. c. roar in úproar).<sup>\*</sup> If we speak, therefore, in prosody, of short and long syllables, we imitate the Greek custom of speaking, without having the same thing which is designated by it. We should say *strong* and *weak* ; or, without ceremony, accented and unaccented syllables. Again, this accent itself, (there at least where it is systematically determined by principles,) which governs throughout the prosodical capacity and value of the syllables, depends on the *signification* of the syllables, whereas with the ancients this prosodical capacity was fixed by the *musical* value of the syllables, their signification (logical value) being subordinate. In the German language, for instance, that syllable which contains the principal element of the notion, obtains at the same time prosodical length ; nay, several words, joined together, (v. c. monosyllables with polysyllables) obtain their respective metrical power, according to their respective logical weight and intrinsic importance in speech ; and it is obvious that the rhetorical declamation is identified with the metrical. We have proved how different the case was with the Greeks : the whole compass of ancient versification, and the representation of feelings by means of it, rested upon a musical basis, which is wanting in modern languages ; and an ancient Greek, could he perceive them, would, even in the most successful imitations of ancient metre, nevertheless miss this musical basis.<sup>†</sup>

However, it is justly proposed as a mark, at which the modern

<sup>\*</sup> It is worthy of being discussed, for we are not aware that it has yet been adverted to, why, in the Roman language, the metrical art was more modified by the grammatical accent, than in the Greek, which is quite independent of it.

languages should aim, by availing themselves of all the euphonic means within their reach, endeavoring to approach at least the perfection of ancient poetry and versification. This attempt will, of course, be successful in proportion as the prosody is regulated by steady principles, and perfected to systematical unity and consistency. Now as the prosody of modern languages is guided by accent, there may be delineated, *a priori*, according to the greater or less regularity in the principle of accentuation, a scale to the respective perfection of the prosody in these languages; and with this scale experience perfectly agrees. Guided by this standard, let us cast a glance at the German, English, and French prosody.

In the German language, the accentuation, consistently with the above-mentioned principle for primitive languages, exhibits the most perfect unity and regularity: there has been fixed consequently, on the principle of logical power, a steady and regular prosodiocal relation of the syllables and words, to a perfection found in no other modern language. On this foundation *Voss*, in his work entitled, "*Zeitmessung der Deutschen Sprache*," has reared the German versification, and raised it to the dignity of a scientific system; especially by taking into consideration all the advantages which may be derived for prosody, from the principle of accentuation in primitive languages, and which, raising versification above a bare rhyme-metre, enables the poet to imitate, in spite of the different foundation, to an illusive resemblance, the harmony of ancient versification. Much of this art consists in drawing, by means of full sounds, the prosody, which rests on accentuation, near to the ancient prosody, which rests on length of *time*; without, however, in any instance, deviating from the principle of modern prosody. We must here rest satisfied with a few observations. Every primitive language, unless another principle interfere, as with the Greeks, develops itself in such a manner, that most frequently the radical syllables which express the principal notion, and bear consequently the accent, have also comparatively the most distinct and sonorous sound. Monosyllables are common, and *only* obtain their metrical value by their logical dignity in connexion; and thus it is in the power of the poet to afford, by means of the connexion, the accent to the most sonorous of them. For compounds, there arises from the fundamental principle a very determinate law of a strong secondary accent; for all words, made up out of two parts of speech, nearly equal in intrinsic significance, bear a double weight of accent, and thus are produced the

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spondee, palimbacchius, antispast, &c.; v. c. Kräft-völl, Wëlt-kreise, Gërichts-dönnër. What an extensive latitude for the poet, seeing the aptitude of the Germanic languages for compositions! By these and similar refinements, Voss has produced his celebrated imitations of the ancient versification. Consider, for instance, the following verse, which Gibbon, though ignorant of the German language, and judging only by the artificial combination of the sounds, could not cease admiring:

αὐτὰρ ἔπειτα πεδόνδε κυλίνδετο λαῶς ἀνάιδης·

Hurtig mīt | dönnër-gëp|oltër ën | trolltë dër | tückischë | Mär-  
mör;

or the catalectic diambic, from the *Antigone*, translated by Solger:

στόνω βρέμουσι δ' ἀντιπλήγεις ἄκται

die fluth-gëschlagnën Küstën dümpf ërbriüllën.<sup>1</sup>

The English language is by nò means possessed of that regularity of accentuation which distinguishes the German. That part indeed, which is of Germanic (Saxon) origin, adheres closely to the rule which governs the primitive languages; but the Latin element follows no certain principle, and what is borrowed from the French too frequently participates in the pitiable complaint of the French accentuation. The secondary accent, of course, is equally destitute of such a certain law as regulates it in the German. But notwithstanding this, the English language has, partly by the Germanic element, which forms the groundwork of the whole edifice, partly by an analogical management of the foreign additions, so much regularity and variety, that the *prosody* is certainly susceptible of a lawful arrangement, though not on one principle. But that such a steady and precise arrangement has been wanting hitherto, is obvious, not only from the fluctuating use of the poets, and the inconsistency in prosodiäcal directions, but from the complaints of the most eminent grammarians on this point, who, only to mention one circumstance, prove that the greatest poets most commonly pay no regard at all to accent in the use of long and short syllables, whereby, obviously, arbitrariness assumes the

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<sup>1</sup> Not only the Germans, but also other northern nations, whose idioms are rather dialects of the German language, have lately attempted, and partly succeeded in, imitations of the ancient metres.

place of law and rule. Whether the English prosody is qualified for imitations of pentameter and hexameter verse, and the complicated lyric metres, is a very disputed point: attempts have been made, though not very successfully. It appears to us, however, very precipitate, to decide the point by these attempts, and to pronounce that the English language revolts at these metres.<sup>1</sup>

The French language, as a purely derivative language, proceeded not at all by the organic process of internal development; but being entirely made up by an external mechanical formation, is, of course, possessed of an accentuation, which has no logical reference at all: the accent is placed on the tail of the words, and indicates "*le costume Français*," in which the Latin language is dressed out. But *this* accent, poetry, in respect of prosody, cannot take as a rule: it has consequently no rule or principle at all, and uses every syllable, just as it happens, long or short. Nothing, therefore, is more ridiculous, than the essays and treatises of the French on *their prosody*; because nothing is more ridiculous than to speak at large respecting that which does not exist.

After this digression, we return to the Greek accent and Mr. Göttling. All inquiry concerning Greek accentuation, says Mr. Göttling, must set out from the general law which rules the accent of primitive language, viz. *that the tone is laid on the radical syllable, or that which (by determination in compositions) specifies or alters the primitive notion of the word*: all other syllables are accentless, or, according to a strange term of the grammarians, they have the *gravis* (*βαρεῖα πρ.*). There is no possibility of proceeding systematically with this subject, without commencing with this law, though, as the sequel will show, we have only the Æolic dialect for a sure guidance. To this we subscribe fully.

<sup>1</sup> It is to be lamented, that, whilst English poetry towered to such a majestic height, the poets neglected to ascertain the prosodiocal system. The innate prosodiocal powers of the language are, certainly, as eminent and extraordinary as in any language. With regard to the expedients resulting from organic formations out of roots and compound words, these indeed were neglected, and it yields herein to the German system; and this circumstance obviously arose from the tendency to incorporate foreign words into the body of the language. But in the approximation to the musical quantity of the ancients, by short and long vowels, in the capacity of producing, by the greatest variety of sounds, rhythmical beauty, melody, and imitative harmony, (we refer to Milton,) it surpasses the German language. We think, one day, a true poetical genius, availing himself of the prosodiocal treasures of this language, will solve the problem, and imitate the music of Homer, Virgil, and Theocritus.

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This principle is, in the Greek language, limited by a restrictive law; viz. *that only one of the last three syllables of any word is capable of accent*—a law which, in that rigorousness with which it governs the Greek accent, cannot be accounted for (as Mr. G. has attempted) either by the nature of language in general, or by that of primitive languages. (We beg to remind the reader of the accent in the English and German.) We think there is no better mode of explaining it, than by tracing this law to that delicate sense of euphony, peculiar to the Greek mind; for, the accent being on the fourth syllable from the end, renders indeed the pronunciation heavy and clumsy.

In consequence of this restrictive law, the above-mentioned fundamental principle is modified thus: the tone is placed on the radical syllable, or that which (by determination in compositions) specifies or alters the primitive notion of the word, *in so far as the number of the final syllables allows to do so*; hence *μελίχιος*, and not *μείλιχιος*.

On this principle, limited only by the quantity of the last syllable, (which however cannot be called an alteration of it, as will soon be seen), the accentuation of the eldest Greek language seems to have been conducted throughout; and the Æolic dialect has preserved this standard. (Etymol. Max. p. 312. 45. Gregor. Corinth. &c.) Mr. G. therefore justly considers the Æolic dialect as the only guide for any investigation respecting Greek accentuation.

Mr. G. now states three causes which have modified this original accentuation: the dialectical developement of the language, the endeavor to distinguish words of like sound, and quantity. The last circumstance (quantity), however, cannot be said to have occasioned a real breach of the stated principle; the deviation is only apparent, and therefore it has exerted its influence also on the Æolic dialect. We turn first to it.

I. Quantity.—As to quantity, every thing depends, says Mr. G., on the ultimate. Is it long by nature, the long vowel is reckoned as two short ones (two *mōra*), and the accent cannot take its place on the ante-penultimate, because otherwise, it would be, against the principal rule, on the fourth syllable from the end; v. c. *εὐρύπης* = *εὐρύκειες*. This is certainly correct; and the method in which Mr. G. has cleared up the seeming exceptions to the rule, is no less deserving of our approbation. But we ask, what is the reason, that in *proparoxytonis*, (v. c. *ἀνθρώπος*) the long vowel in the *pēnultimate*, if the ultimate is short, has not the same value of two short ones (two *mōra*) for accentuation, as it unquestionably has in the metre? Why is it

allowable to accent *ἀνθρώπος*, and why is not *ἀνθρώπος* equal for accentuation to *ἀνθρώπος*, so that it should be accented *ἀνθρώπος*? Mr. G. says: "The quantity of the last syllable of a word is of importance for the accentuation, but never the quantity of the penultimate. We must account for that again by the musical method which the language took in its development; for in song the last syllable is of the most distinct and undisturbed expression." This reason, we must confess, appears to us destitute of any weight; for in song (in the metre), all long syllables were alike equal to two *mora*—two short ones. In the next place it is false, that the quantity of the penultimate never operated on the situation of the accent: it did, strongly enough, if the ultimate was long, v. c. *ῥήτωρ*; for in this case, the circumflex can never be placed on the penultimate. For the circumflex (as Mr. G. justly observes) is by no means to be considered as a particular sort of accent, but always as the acute (the accent) on the FIRST of two *mora*, (two short vowels) which were contracted into one length (one long vowel, equal to two short ones); the second of which had consequently the *gravis*, i. e. no accent at all: *ῥῆμα* is equal to, and contracted from, *πέεμα* (hence the figure of the circumflex). Now, as the penultimate, if the ultimate be long, never has the circumflex, but the acute (if it has the tone at all), it was counted for two *mora*, of which the latter had the acute; *ῥήτωρ* is equal to *πέετορ*, and the accent stands on the third syllable from the end. *ῥῆτωρ* would be equal to *πέετορ*, and the accent would fall on the fourth syllable from the end. Nay, the long penultimate also (if it has the tone at all), the ultimate being short, had for accentuation the power of two *mora*, because then it has constantly the sign ~, i. e. the accent was on the first *mora*, because nothing prevented the tone from being brought as near to the radical syllable as possible, v. c. *σῶμα* is equal to *σόδμα*. Why then in *proparoxytonis*, was not the long penultima, the ultimate being short, counted, as to accentuation, for two *mora*; is neither explained by Mr. G., nor by any one else: the reason may lie in some relation of the tone to the music, which is unknown.

II. Contradistinction of like-sounding words. The custom of distinguishing words of like sounds, by diversity of tone, which creates deviations from the general laws of accentuation, is found also in modern languages (v. c. in the English and German) whose accentuation is guided by principles; *νόμος*, a law, *νομός*, a pasture—*πρόδω*, produce—*überlegen*, *uberlegen*.

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III. *Dialectical development.* The two above-mentioned deviations cannot, strictly speaking, be regarded as such : the former is but apparently so, the latter is perfectly justified on logical principles ; for where accent has any logical meaning, as it ought to have, it will always serve to distinguish different senses of homonymous words. But the third circumstance which produced anomalies, seems more striking, particularly in the manner in which Mr. G. has expressed it. He says : "The Greek language divided itself into different dialects ; and these dialects, *derived* from one fountain-head, acquired, in a manner, independency of each other by literary productions. By this means, an apparent approach to that principle, which we have stated to regulate the accent of the *derived* languages, operated in the accentuation of the younger dialects ; we mean the tendency to place the accent on the later accessions to the radical syllables, exhibiting neither an independent notion (as the roots), nor an essential alteration or specification (as the compounds)." Mr. G. here refers to that section, in which he has noticed the character of French accentuation. But it would be committing an unpardonable insult to the genius of the Greek language, to charge him with the moon-shine of French accentuation.\* Mr. G. himself feels that this assertion rests on a sandy foundation : he accordingly corrects himself some pages further. "The deviation from the *Æolic* accentuation, in the other dialects, is, however, regulated by fixed principles, tending to point out by the accents, certain *modifications* of the radical notion." With this we perfectly coincide. In the French and other posterior languages, the accent, deprived of any logical power, indicates merely the external transformation of a primitive language into the new shape. It is not so with the Greek : the accent always preserves—thus Mr. G. continues to illustrate his subject—a logical meaning ; but the younger dialects, particularly the *Ionic* and *Attic*, (which originally were identical,) adopted the custom of marking out by the accent, more particularly, the modifications which the radical notion had acquired by derivation, than this radical notion itself. This pro-

\* Mr. Planche indeed says, in his translation of Demosthenes, that he had discovered an astonishing resemblance between the French and the Greek. The *Edinburgh Review* (No. Lxv. 1820) observes, that this discovery was reserved for Mr. Planche ; to which we add, we are afraid that it will also die with him. There is no greater difference between Plato and Helvetius, than between the prattle of French verse, and the harmony of Greek poetry.

ceeding however, was conducted by clear analogical views. Either it was intended to notice, by increased energy of the voice, the character of derivation in general, in contradistinction from the root, and this was mostly the case when the derivative syllable was strong and heavy, or had strikingly altered the radical sound (v. c. βασιλεὺς, ἡγεμῶν, κτιστῆς, μονὴ from μένω); or it was proposed to point out by a stress of the tone, certain particular kinds of derivative notions, for instance, the notion of the concrete, or of the acting person, or similar derived notions: these rules of *derived accentuation*, (as we may call it) Mr. G. has attempted to discover, and classify; and in many respects he has succeeded. Wherever the dialectical conformation of the language has not followed these rules, Mr. G. justly asserts, that the custom of language must be said to have preserved the *Æolic* accentuation, i. e. the original principle of accentuation modified by the euphonic laws of the number of three syllables.

It is evident from our remarks, that the successful progress of this system depended almost entirely upon a judicious and philosophical development of the operation which proceeded from the cause mentioned.

III. And in general the success is unquestionable; though it is to be observed on the one hand, that there were many excellent remarks of German and English philologists, of which Mr. G. could avail himself; and on the other hand, that he has not always written with equal precision, distinctness and felicity. For the essential problem and more arduous part of this system, (not to mention the easier parts) is to detect with sagacity the different, and in part very nice analogies, by which this dialectical accentuation was guided; and we do not think that Mr. G. has exhausted the compass of these analogies. Nevertheless the system is sketched out, and the merit undoubtedly belongs to him. We subjoin some further information respecting it.

Mr. G. reviews, according to these principles, the single parts of speech. The verb presents the fewest difficulties. We cannot however, permit it to pass unnoticed, that Mr. G. did not improve the excellent remarks of Buttmann, which explain the accentuation of the aorist so satisfactorily. To the review of the substantive, the essential rules following from the principle of the dialectical accentuation, (which may be termed the *Attic accentuation*) are premised; however, says Mr. G., these rules have not entirely prevailed, and in many instances, we



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must account for the accentuation, by recurring to the Æolic principle, which was prevalent over the secondary principle.

The most essential operations of this secondary (Attic) principle are the following :

I. If the derivation of a noun from a verb, or any other part of speech, is very obvious, the Attic dialect, to mark out the derivative element in sound and notion, has *mostly* the accent attached to it, it is an *oxytonon*; however, as we have observed, neither this, nor scarcely any other analogy, is altogether prevailing, and many such words retain the Æolic tone. (v. c. all those ending in —ος, derived from the verb and denoting the action or the effect, λόγος, στόλος, ῥόδος) Mr. G. however has accurately marked the classes of substantives which in general take the Attic accent.

On the contrary, if the substantives are formed as simply out of the root, by the addition of the final vowel, as the verb by the termination —ω, so that they may be regarded as co-ordinate with, and not subordinate to the verb, the Æolic tone is preserved, unless some other influence takes place, v. c. the simple nouns in —η and —α, after the first declension; in —ος, after the second declension, v. c. λύρα, δίκη, πάτος. Here also the enumerations are exact.

II. A second analogy is given by the best of the derivated dialects, to point out the notion of concrete nouns, (to which may be added the ideas of frequentation and collectivity) which are consequently, where the analogy prevails, oxytona; the abstract nouns, on the other hand, retain the old accentuation. Though this analogy also did not altogether prevail, yet the reverse will scarcely be found (unless another circumstance interfere); i. e. a class of substantives, oxytonated in order to denote the idea of abstractness. The only instance which Mr. G. adduces, arises from an oversight. He says, "The feminine substantives in υς, υος, chiefly abstract nouns, are oxytona; the masculine and feminine substantives implying a concrete notion, bear the Æolic accent." But the analogy mentioned in *a*, takes place. The former are derivated by strong additions, the latter in the most simple manner; every one may compare the forms, ισχύς, ὀρχηστὺς, κίθαριστὺς, πιστὺς, &c. with ἴτυς, χίλυς, νέκυς, γένυς, &c.

From these statements it is evident, that in order to trace the principles which governed the accent of the substantives, we must consider first, whether the Æolic or Attic mode prevailed, and then, which of several analogies obtained the preference; as

for instance, which of the two suggested rules, *a*, or *b*, got the ascendancy. The elucidations of Mr. G. every where evince a deep etymological knowledge of the Greek, a qualification absolutely necessary for such an undertaking.

The development of the views which directed the accentuation of the adjectives, does not in like manner claim our approbation; it is obviously too incomplete. The illustrations of the accentuation in combined parts of speech, (where mention is made of the depression of the *acute* into the *grave*, also of the *Crisis*, *Anastrophe*, *Procliticis*, and *Encliticis*) is, in every respect, deserving of recommendation.

We trust we have given a general idea of Mr. Göuling's system, and have illustrated the fundamental basis of it, as also the importance and interest of the subject, by our previous remarks. The task of Mr. G. was, to show that the Greek accentuation proceeded from the fundamental principle of the primitive languages, (where accent is, throughout, a logical and etymological standard) and was modified only by the euphonic law of the number of three syllables; that this system of accentuation, presented in the *Æolic* dialect, underwent a change by the dialectical development of the language, which, however, neither divested the accent of its logical capacity, (which it loses in derivated languages) nor proceeded in an arbitrary way; that, on the contrary, the tendency to point out by accent, the various shades and distinctions, which the radical notions suffered by modification and the progressive culture of the language, was the principle productive of this second (*Attic*) system of accentuation; that it is consequently the task of philological enquiry, to discover, discriminate, and arrange the individual analogies, which conducted and regulated that tendency, and, accordingly, its produce, the system of accentuation; that, lastly, a successful investigation and exposition of these analogies, will at once afford a deeper knowledge of those essential properties, which we call the genius of a language. These assertions, Mr. G. has, undoubtedly, proved throughout; the further aim of his endeavors was, to delineate the system of the *Attic* accentuation itself; and after the excellent attempt towards this point, we are anxious to see the larger work, which, we think, will complete the system.

L. SNELL.

NOTICE OF  
*A MANUAL OF CLASSICAL BIBLIOGRAPHY: comprising a copious detail of the various editions; commentaries and works critical and illustrative; and translations into the English, French, Italian, Spanish, German, and, occasionally, other languages, of the Greek and Latin Classics. By JOSEPH W. MOSS. 2 vols. 8vo. London. 1825.*

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THE study of bibliography, whatever it may have been in former days, has certainly, in the present times, assumed an attractive form. The "*Annales Typographici*" of Panzer, the utility of which is undoubted, are yet dry and rather uninteresting volumes, and need half a dozen fat quartos of commentary to render them amusing and instructive.

Against this fault, the author of these volumes has endeavored to guard, and has introduced to our notice instructive and entertaining extracts from Freytag, Klotz's *Acta Literaria*, J. A. Ernesti's *Fabricii Bibliotheca Lat.*, and Klugling's continuation of Harles's *Introductio in Ling. Latinam*. He has also quoted copiously from Mr. Dibdin, Mr. Kett's *Elements*—the remarks of whom are to be attended to, as coming in some degree from Porson—and from various English and foreign periodicals. It is not often that such men as Porson communicate to the world bibliographical information, except on the particular author whom they may happen to edit, though such persons have excellent opportunities for acquiring the surest information on the relative value of editions; and therefore, when they do impart their opinions, though they may not be so favorable as those of professed bibliographers, they should be valued accordingly.

It will be evident to our readers, that much labor has been expended on this work, when they are told that the account of Aristotle occupies from page 105 to 186, and the account of Horace, commencing the second volume, fills upwards of a hundred pages.

We proceed to make a few remarks, and will notice an edition of Ammianus Marcellinus, 8vo. Lugduni, 1600. It is printed on indifferent paper, and perhaps deserves no *peculiar* notice; but as it has not been enrolled in the lists by the bibliographers of this country, we mention its existence.

P. 84. Apuleius. Leida, 4to. 1786. Oudendorpii. This edition has been completed; we quote in confirmation a few words from Bergman's edition of Ruhnken's life, and his note on them.

"Reliqua Appuleii pars adhuc in scriniis continetur, anno 1799, quo hæc scribebat Wytttenbachius. Quam ejus brevi in lucem proditura: spem feceramus Opusc. Ruhnk. T. II, p. 659. nuper comprobavit eventus, reliquo omni Oudendorpii apparatu anno superiore [1823.] apud Luchtmansios, II. voll. edito. Quo facto gratulari par est cum doctissimo editori Joanni Bosscha, tum universæ patriæ, quæ, classico veteris eruditionis opere absoluto, suam sibi pristinam literarum laudem egregie vindicatam vidit." p. 469.

P. 249. Callimachus. Londini. 8vo. 1741. Gr. et Lat. This edition, which the Glasgow editor discovers to have been by an "eruditissimo viro," and Dr. Harwood to be "not inferior to any one of Callimachus," was, we believe, edited by Thomas Bentley, nephew of the mighty scholar. So much for a name.

Cicero. With regard to the observations made on Bentley by Dr. Harwood, pages 340 and 345, we extract the following from the Monthly Review, 1808. vol. LV. p. 376.

"Dr. Harwood, in his view of the editions of the Classics, has the following remarks: "Dr. Davies was a very learned and judicious editor, and did not deserve to be contemptuously called *Juvenis*, as Dr. Bentley affects to style him in his *Emendationes ad Ciceronis Tusculanas Quæstiones*." (Article *Cicero de Finibus*.) On the *Tusculana*, edit. *Davisi*, he adds: "Only the editions of 1709 and 1738 contain Dr. Bentley's *Emendationes ad Ciceronis Tusculanas Quæstiones*. Some illiberal and contemptuous reflections of Dr. Bentley caused Dr. Davies, I suppose, not to subjoin them to the second and third editions."

Thus is the memory of the greatest of men exposed to insults by the absurd fancies of those who cannot or will not read their works. From the prefaces of those very two editions, it is evident, that Bentley withdrew his *Emendationes*, for the purpose of republishing them in an improved form, and in the mean time he communicated a copy of the *Tusculans*, corrected throughout by himself, to Davies, who chiefly followed it in revising his text. This statement is made, and supported by the proper quotations in the advertisement prefixed to some important notes of Bentley, published for the first time at Oxford, in 1805, with Davies's *Tusculans*.

These notes are an imperfect sketch of Bentley's *Cura Secunda*; which, as the Editor says, were never finished, in consequence of the loss of some important collations.—We had almost forgotten *Juvenis*: "AMICISSIMO JUVENI, JOANNI

DAVISIO, VIRTUTE, INGENIO, ET ERUDITIONE PRÆSTANTI SALUTEM.—Such are bibliographers!" The force of the valorous exclamation against bibliographs, with which this quotation concludes, Mr. Moss should have endeavored to deaden; and we are rather surprised he has not, since the mistakes of Dr. Harwood have been pointed out more than once. He would then have left the reviewer, who had no object less at heart than that of correcting Dr. Harwood, the full satisfaction of reviling the "*gens bibliographica*."

Before we pass on to another author, we may just notice a reprint of some of A. Maio's discoveries in Ciceronian literature.

"—— oratt. pro Scauro, pro Tullio, pro Flacco partes ineditæ cum schol. ad orat. pro Scauro item inedit. invenit A. Maius, cum emend. suis et comment. denuo ediderint Andr. G. Cramer et Car. Fr. Heinrichius, 4to. Kilia, 1816."

Dion Cassius, (page 406.)

"It is to the honor of Reimar's edition of Dion Cassius, that Porson thought it one of the best edited books he knew." Vol. 1. p. 272. of "*Memoirs, &c. &c.* by L. M. Hawkins," 8vo. London. 1824.

P. 411. Mr. Moss says: In 1817. M. Maio published at Frankfort a work said to contain a "*pars hactenus desiderata*" of D. Halicarn. We can bring forward an earlier edition, which seems to have better claims as the *editio princeps* of this recovered portion. "*Dionysii Halicarnassei Rom. Antiquitatum pars hactenus desiderata, nunc denique ope codicum Ambrosianorum ab Ang. Maio restituta.* 4to. Mediolani. 1816."

P. 516. Zach. Bogan's work deserves more honorable mention, as is evident from the words of a writer, whose disquisition itself richly merits a place among the commentaries, &c., on Homer: we allude to "*An Examination of the Primary Argument of the Iliad*, by G. Penn. 8vo. London. 1821."

"Treatises have been written to collect the numerous instances of those points of resemblance (of manners and maxims, which Homer exhibits with those recorded in the Bible); but none of them with more laborious research or better success than the little work entitled "*Homerus ἑβραϊζων*," in which the learned and pious author has thoroughly attained his object; which was to show, not what some speculative writers have attempted to deduce from that resemblance, that Homer must have been acquainted with our sacred volumes; but the undeniable fact, of the close kindred that subsisted, in the age of Homer, between the prevailing conceptions and modes of expression of Asiatic Greece, and those of the historical times and places of our sacred Scriptures." pp. 218-19.

The title of this work of Bogan's, as given by Mr. Orme in his *Bibliotheca Biblica*, pp. 54-2, is as follows: "*Homerus*

Ἑσπαίων, sive comparatio Homeri cum scriptoribus sacris, quoad normam loquendi. 8vo. Oxon. 1658."

Among the useful editions of Livy, Mr. Moss has omitted one which we have not seen noticed in any bibliographical work.

"——— textum recognovit, selectis variorum notis illustravit, suasque aliquot adjecit Joh. Walker, 7 tom. 8vo. Dublin. 1797—1813."

Of this edition we shall give an account in Mr. Walker's own words, from "Supplementary Annotations on Livy, designed as an appendix to the editions of Drakenborch and Crevier, &c. By J. Walker, 8vo. Glasgow. 1822."

"My edition" (he says, pref. xii.) "was of course, formed on the basis of those published by Crevier and Drakenborch. I aimed, in the first instance, at selecting, condensing, and incorporating all the most useful matter in their editions: and on this very laborious part of my work, I can express myself with more confidence, about the utility of the proposed object."

"While each of these standard editions of Livy possesses its peculiar merit, neither of them, to the critical student, supersedes the necessity of the other. I think it indeed to be regretted, that Crevier's edition was somewhat prior to Drakenborch's. Had the order of time in which they appeared been inverted, I think it very likely that the former—from his candor, his elegance of taste, and soundness of discriminating judgment—would have given the world a work decisively superior to that of the German editor, whom I consider far inferior to the Frenchman in all those characters. Drakenborch availed himself much less, and with much less ingenuousness, than he ought, of the critical labors of Crevier; though it appears, from the 76th page of his preface, that he was not restrained by any nicety of scruple from making the freest use of them."

"He produced, however, a work highly important and valuable to any future editor of Livy; though little convenient or satisfactory for general use. It is valuable for the large collation which it affords of manuscripts and early editions; as well as from that enormous mass of antecedent commentary and annotation, which he has collected with true German indiscriminating industry. In short, his edition may well be considered as standing in place of all the preceding, except Crevier's. From these two editions, therefore, it was my first object to select, to combine, and to abridge the matter, that is most generally important to the classical reader. And, so far, I am not afraid to pronounce it very desirable, that students should be supplied with some such edition, as I aimed at executing. For, I con-

fess, I do not think that the want can be adequately met, as (I understand) the trade in this country have endeavored to meet it, by reprinting the *text* of Drakenborch with the *notes* of Crevier! This, I should conceive, must form rather a comical combination; and certainly, in several places, it will exhibit a text much inferior to Crevier's." The volume, from which this extract is taken, deserves a place in the list of commentators, and critical writings illustrating Livy.

Among the editions of separate dialogues of Plato should have been inserted:

"—— Phædon explanatus et emendatus proleg. et annotatione Dan. Wytttenbachii 8vo. Lug. Bat. 1810."

The reader will find a long account of it written by the editor himself in *Miscellanea doctrinae liber secundus*, 8vo. Amst. 1811. pp. 29—109.

Mr. Moss has not given many of Plautus's separate plays, and we therefore make the following extract from Osaun's Auctarium Lex. Gr. (pp. 178—9), as it notices two of the Captivi, one of which is mentioned in a note; the other is:—

"A præstantissimo isto Neapolitano, Fr. M. Avellinio, cujus editio apud externos parum cognita, Neapoli a. 1807 prodiit, firmarique denique auctoritate editt. Cratandrie Basileæ a. 1523. evulgata, et alius, quæ forma quarta vulgo dicta hoc titulo emissa est: *Continentur in hoc libello quattuor Plauti comædiæ; Amphitruo, Aulularia, Duo Captivi, et Menæchmi, familiaribus annotationibus declarata.* Ad calcem folii cli *versi*, quod index sequitur, extant: *Explicit commentatio Jannis Baptista Pii Bononiensis in Menachmos. In vigilia Bartholomei, anno Ihesv undecimo.* Integrum editionis hujus titulum exhibui, alibi, quantum sciam, accurate nondum descriptum."

"Porsoni Adversaria. Lips. 8vo. 1814. 14s. An indispensable book to a critical scholar, on whose table this volume ought ever to lie open."

So says Mr. Moss; but as the Leipsic reprint cannot boast much external beauty, he should, we think, have mentioned the English edition, which is a much greater ornament to a table, and has besides a portrait of the author. An interesting review or notice of this volume appeared in the *Mus. Crit. Cantabr.*, No. 1., and would probably be more entertaining to many readers than the work itself.

"Ne novit quidem qui Captivos Plauti nuper edidit, Jo. Bosscha, Trajecti ad Rhenum, 1817. 8vo., juvenis non sine laude nominandus. Atqui in Italia ipse liber ille Avellini, viri cum hoc de litterarum genere, tum maxime de numerorum veterum doctrina meritiissimi, perrarus est, ut apud bibliopolas frustra percurrere."

Vol. 11. p. 528. Mr. Moss in this page mentions Harlesii Fabricii Biblioth. Græca. 12 vols. 4to. Hamburg. 1790—1809. observing :

“This is a publication which no one can survey without admiring the diligent application and prodigious labor which must have been bestowed on the accumulation and classification,” &c.

He does not, however, state its unfinished condition; the cause of which we present to the reader in the words of Chr. Fr. Harless, the author's eldest son :

“Nihil magis doluit, quam necessitatem a temporis calamitate bibliopolæ honestissimæ summe invito impositam, interrumpendi operis sistendæque editionis, cujus ultimi duo tomi ex parte jam a manu b. patris præparati erant, et cujus tam ex relictis schedis, quam proprio labore finiendi atque admodum necessariis indicibus supplementisque instruendi forsitan in posterum mihi dabitur, opportunitas,” p. 464.

This promise, which we hope will not be forgotten, is afterwards repeated :

“Ex quibus b. patris *reliquiis literariis*, manu sua scriptis anecdoticis, forsitan proximo sequentibus annis, si Deus vitam viresque et otium mihi dabit, selectiora et ad usum eruditorum insigniis facientia, in unum alterumve volumen colligere et in publicum edere equidem studebo.” Vita G. C. Harless. reprinted in Vol. 1. p. 476. of *Miscellanea Critica*, 8vo. Hildesiae. 1822.

Suetonius (Vol. 11. p. 630.). Mr. Moss appears to have given less prominence than he ought to H. Glareanus's edition of this author, of which Burman in the preface to his own edition speaks thus handsomely :

“Quas (notas) ideo in hac editione omnes legi volui, quia vir ille et doctrina et acri satis dijudicandi vi præditus, id fero et in Suetonii hac et aliorum scriptorum a se curatorum editionibus, semper egit, et omissis vulgurbus, ad illa potissimum animum intenderet, quæ aut ab aliis prætermittenda sunt, aut in quibus ipsi difficultas et scrupulus quidam injectus fuit, quem vel ipse eximit, vel de his locis amplius deliberandi occasionem dans, felicioribus ingeniis explananda relinquit : in his hoc in primis agit, ut ad quæ loca Egnatius et alii ante suam ætatem viri docti hæserunt, lucem aliquam adferret.”

“Lips. 8vo. 1748 et 1775. Ernesti. 14s. These editions are held in little estimation, and are by no means such as from the literary character and various erudition of the editor might have been expected.” Mr. Moss, p. 632 — Fr. Aug. Wolfius gives a very different account of this edition in the preface to the one which he superintended. (4—5.)

“Hanc vero J. A. Ernesti editionem statim a. 1748, et multo magis a. 1775, ab ipso renovatam, tanto consensu probarunt intelligentes judices, ut nulli similium operum hujus Viri postponendam censerent; in Batavis etiam, ubi accuratissima Oudendorpiana prostabat, doctores publici cum lectoribus suis adhibuerunt. Atque habet sane, præter



probabilem textus recensionem, quod in commentario adolescentibus scripto eximie commendari possit, perspicuam rerum ad quemque locum pertinentium explicationem, puram suoque scriptore dignam dictionem, prudentem delectum annotationum illi lectorum classi idonearum; denique laudes eas omnes, quibus Ernestii disciplina per Germaniam saluberrima fuisse perhibetur."

P. 633. "Lips. 8vo. 1802. Wolfii. An elegant and accurate edition." Moss. Where the elegance of this edition is, we cannot see. Mr. Moss should have said that it was in four volumes, and that the two latter contained Isaac Casaubon's celebrated commentary, of which Burman speaks thus:

"Licet exquisitæ eruditionis plenissimus hic sit commentarius, uberiora tamen præstare potuisset vir insignis, nisi vita ejus variis migrationibus, curis domesticis publicis ita fuisset agitata, ut nunquam fere ad elaboranda scripta sua liquido et sereno animo potuerit vacare. Hoc in omnibus fere scriptis suis queritur, quæ inchoata verius quam perfecta dici possunt, ut præter cætera in his in Suetonium animadversionibus ad Tib. xlv. ubi animum sibi non deesse, voluntatem etiam superesse, sed etiam καὶ τὸ ἀμείριμον semper hæcenus defuisse, quod sua scripta prodeire nimis festinauter cogeretur, fatetur, et hinc animadversionibus suis deinde appendiculam adjecit, et tandem Parisiis certiorum sedem et otium nactus anno 1610 auctas edidit suas in Suetonium animadversiones."

P. 676. "Terentius. 8vo. Halæ. 1811. Bruns. 2s." is mentioned. This edition, which Mr. Moss will not procure at the sum he is pleased to give it, is a very useful one, and contains D. Ruhnken's Scholæ on this author. They are included in the London reprint of Zeunius, a circumstance of which Mr. M. does not seem to be aware. A more full and accurate copy of these *dictata in Terentium*, was promised by Car. F. Heinrich, but whether it has appeared or not we cannot tell. See *Addimenta ad Th. Chr. Harlesii Br. Not. Lit. Rom.—scriptis Carol. Fr. H. Klugling. 8vo. Lipsiæ. 1819. p. 21*—We may observe that the date of Baskerville's editions should be 1772.

These volumes are by no means free from typographical blunders, and considering the nature of the work, they were, perhaps, to be expected and excused; but as Mr. Moss states it to have crept through the press, they are far more than there ought to be. He gives 14s. as the price of Porsoni *Aristophæica* in one page, and in the next 16s., though this latter may perhaps, like the Eustathius which he mentions, be "a fine copy." D'Arnaud's *Animadversiones* are sometimes charged ~~three guineas~~, and sometimes three shillings.

The hyperbolic and vague opinions of Furhman might have been omitted without lessening the value of the work. So much

attention need not have been paid to foreign translations; and then the authors at the end of the second volume might have received an equal share of attention with the rest. We were rather disappointed, on our first perusal of Mr. Moss's volumes, at not finding an account of the late editions of the Classics, or of the later volumes of those left unfinished; but of this defect we anticipate a delightful supplement in the forthcoming volumes of Dr. Dibdin.

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## NOTICE OF

*The PROPHECY of EZEKIEL, concerning GOGUE, the last tyrant of the Church; his invasion of ROS, his discomfiture and final fall; examined, and in part illustrated. BY GRANVILLE PENN, 12mo. pp. liv, + 175. et Supplement, 28.*

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THIS is one of the most extraordinary attempts at prophetic illustration, that we have ever seen. The *Christian's Survey*, by the same author, contained some bold positions, and speedily produced a controversy, which the preface to this volume is intended to meet. As that subject, however, is foreign to the body of the work, we shall confine ourselves to the single prophecy of 'Ezekiel' discussed in it, although we cannot promise our readers to lead them to any very satisfactory conclusion.

The prophecy commences thus:—"Son of man! set thy face against Gog, the land of Magog, the chief prince of Meshech and Tubal, and prophesy against him."<sup>1</sup>—By the LXX. this passage is rendered, Γῶγ, ἀρχὸντα Ρῶς, Μεσὶχ, καὶ Θοβὴλ, *Cogue*,<sup>2</sup> the chief of Ros, Meshech, and Thobel. Thus, though the Hebrew גֹּמַר, when used as an appellative, signifies *head*, or *chief*, the Jewish translators considered it here as a proper name, Ros. "St. Jerom, not finding any such proper name among the families and nations mentioned in the genealogical parts of the book of Genesis, ventured precipitately, on that ground, to question the truth of the ancient Greek interpretation, and chose rather to assume the word *ros*, for an appellative

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<sup>1</sup> C xxxviii, xxxix.

<sup>2</sup> Ezek. xxxviii, 2.

<sup>3</sup> The *o* in Γῶγ, observes Mr. Penn, is long, as in *go*; which can only be rendered in English by subjoining the mute vowels *ae*. p. 9.

noun; and his interpretation, established in the Latin version of the Scriptures, has universally prevailed throughout the Western churches.”<sup>1</sup> Symmachus and Theodotion consider it as a proper name. And after investigation, Bochart thinks it a geographical term, with which Michaelis agrees, as well as Archbishop Newcome, in his translation of this prophet.

Having adduced these, and other authorities, which appear conclusive, Mr. Penn supports his decision by an examination of the words *Meshech* and *Tubal*. These are fairly demonstrated to be *Moscow* and *Siberia*, whose capital is named *Tobolsk*, from the river *Tobol*. It is remarkable, that in Ezekiel's prophecy against Tyre,<sup>2</sup> *Tubal* and *Meshech* are described as trading in brass, copper abounding in *Siberia*. “And thus the three denominations united in the prophecy, point out, with equal capacity and conciseness, those widely extended regions, which, at the present day, we denominate collectively, the Russian Empire.”<sup>3</sup>

This question being decided, another arises immediately. Our translation reads, *Gog, the land of Magog*, “but the sentence, when duly and critically examined, rejects that interpretation altogether; since *Gogue*, the individual in question, is described as ‘of the land,’ that is (by a construction, common to the Hebrew with the Greek tongue) ‘Sovereign of the land’ of *Magogue*.”<sup>4</sup> And the word *chief* (נשיא) he proposes to render *cloud*, as being derived from נשא, to stir up, or ascend, a sense given to נשא in several passages.<sup>5</sup> The verse, then, according to Mr. Penn, reads thus: “*GOGUE, of the land of MAGOGUE, the cloud [or, invader?] of ROS, MOSC, and TOBL.*”

The terms *Gog* and *Magog* are not satisfactorily explained, but, being associated with *Gomer* in the sixth verse, must be referred to Europe. Josephus, indeed says, that *Magog* founded the *Magogæ*, whom the Greeks called *Scythæ*.<sup>6</sup> Mr. Turner, who has taken great pains to clear up the history of these nations, considers the Scythians as the second wave of population flowing from Asia, or successors to the Keltic tribe, and therefore situated westward of Gaul.<sup>7</sup> “Eusebius applied the name of *Magogue* to the *Celts*, or *Gauls*; *Ambrosius* to the *Goths*; the author of the ‘*Alexandrian Chronicle*’ to the *Aquitani*, or inhabitants of the south-west of Gaul; and the

<sup>1</sup> P. 15.

<sup>2</sup> C. xlvii. 13.

<sup>3</sup> P. 22.

<sup>4</sup> P. 20.

<sup>5</sup> See Psalm cxxv. 7. Jerem. x. 13. li. 16. Prov. xxv. 14.

<sup>6</sup> Antiq. Jud. i. 6.

<sup>7</sup> Introduction to History of Anglo Saxons, fourth edition.

Chaldean interpreter to the *Germans*: all looked for the Magog of Scripture in the *west of Europe*.”<sup>1</sup> In Welsh, Magog denotes the *land of Gog*, or *land of swiftness*, a term not inapplicable to the Gaulish invasions: nor is it unlikely that a paranomasia would be used, as Taliessin calls the Saxons *Allmyn*, not simply as meaning *Alemanni*, but because that word denoted foreigners in a contemptuous sense.<sup>2</sup>

*Gogo*, which Mr. Penn adroitly renders *Gogue* with Moreri, is the name of the first *Maire du Palais* of the Franks, a personage well known in mediæval history. Being an Austrasian by birth, he was literally of the land of Magog. Thus France appears to be the land from whence Gog is to emerge.

The objection which arises from the fifth verse, *Persia, Ethiopia, and Libya with them*, is resolved by Mr. Penn into a comparison. This, he observes, is a very common form, in which the particle denoting comparison is not expressed, but understood; “and the comparison is only marked by the peculiar relation established between the members of the sentence. . . . The European nations are the proper objects of the prophecy; the Asiatic and African nations are introduced as familiar patterns of illustration.” The principal examples in which the comparative *is* is omitted, he adds, may be found in Noldius’ *Lexicon of Hebrew Particles*, p. 358. See Exod. xix. 4. Jerem. ix. 3. *Ibid.* xv. 18. xxvi. 18. Ezek. iv. 12.<sup>3</sup>

In the sixth verse, we read of *Gomer, and all his bands, the house of Togarmah of the north quarters, and all his bands*. Here Mr. Penn has employed a great deal of learning to prove that the Gauls (*Kelta* and *Galatae*) are the descendants of Gomer.<sup>4</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Pp. 49—50.

<sup>2</sup> Turner’s *Vindication of the Ancient British Poems*.—The word *ma* is now obsolete; *Man* is the familiar form.

<sup>3</sup> Pp. 97—99.

<sup>4</sup> The following table may be useful to the reader. See Genesis x. 21.

Japheth, eldest son of Noah.						
Gomer	Magog	Madai	Javan	Tubal	Meshech	Tiras
Askenaz			Elishah			(see Herod. iv. 47.)
Biphath			Tarshish			
Togarmah			Kittim			
			Rodanim or Dodanim.			

For a minute investigation of this subject, see Wells’s *Sacred Geography*.

## 30 G. Penn on the Prophecy of Ezekiel.

The word *Gomari*, which Josephus applies to this nation, is almost the same in pronunciation with the British *Cymry*. Mr. Turner has shewn the identity of the *Cymry* and *Kimmerii*; while such as prefer a more circuitous route, may arrive at the same conclusion by these stages:

Gomari

|

Kimmerii

|

Kimbri

|

. Cymry (pron. Kumri).

The word *Galatæ* comes from *Calt*, a Gaulish appellation, which in the plural number, according to Dr. Gillies,<sup>1</sup> becomes *Celt* (or, to mark the pronunciation, *Kelt*); the *g* is a change sustained in the oblique cases: hence the word *Galli* appears to have flowed.

On *Togarmah*, Michaelis observes, that, "if *Gomer* denotes the Gauls, *Togarmah* must denote some nation of the Gauls."<sup>2</sup> This name is found in the Gallic settlements in Asia Minor (the *Trochmi*), and is derived by Strabo from a leader of some such name.<sup>3</sup> Other coincidences are subjoined, which it is not necessary to follow.

Perhaps our readers have already anticipated the conclusion, that the invasion of Russia is prefigured here. Succeeding events have assisted this opinion, as fully as the most sanguine commentator could wish, but there are incidental difficulties. Is it satisfactory, for example, to say that c. xxxix. v. 7, 9, 12, 17, refer to *believers* in general? Such, however, as insist on the accomplishment of the prophecy in recent events, are not adopting a conclusion by any means rash; and the book deserves attention from every biblical student. Major Rennell had previously explained these chapters by the Scythian invasion of Media,<sup>4</sup> but his hypothesis required a dislocation of chronology to be plausible for a moment.

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<sup>1</sup> Hist. of the World, from Alexander to Augustus.

<sup>2</sup> Spiceleg. Geog. Heb. Ext. p. 74.

<sup>3</sup> As the Greeks knew nothing of Keltic, we suspect the leader's name to be merely an appellative, as *Lutarius*, who commanded the Gallic migration, is evidently the *Urp*, surnamed *Lluyddog* (or *with the mighty host*) of the Triads.

<sup>4</sup> Geography of Herodotus, p. 111.

Something we will add for future interpreters of prophecy.—The junction of the two continents is evidently the scene of this; and in order to understand it, a knowledge of Hebrew, Persian, and Keltic, is necessary, to fix the localities. Few orientalists are Keltic scholars, and Mr. Penn does not appear to be much acquainted with Gallic.

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## CLASSICAL CRITICISM.

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[Passage in Cicero.]

MAY I be allowed to lay before your readers an attempt to illustrate a passage in Cicero, Act 1. Lib. 11. in Verrem, which, I feel convinced, must have tried the patience of some of them? Should my attempt, however, be deemed a failure, I shall feel great pleasure, in seeing this passage more satisfactorily cleared up.

I may just observe that I have followed, in some measure, the interpretation of James Menard, whose commentaries are subjoined to the edition of the Orations by Grævius. A person of the name of Minucius dies intestate: his property by law devolves to the Minucian family; some one, whose name is not given, lays claim to the property, in consequence of supposing himself the heir, by virtue of a will of the deceased, which, it is believed, had been destroyed, or concealed. But not content with commencing an action for the estate in the usual manner, first *per litem vindictiarum*, and afterwards, by the action *de jure domini*, he applies to the Prætor, whom he bribes, and who, in consequence, inserts this clause in his *edictum urbanum*, for the express purpose of favoring the claimant. "*Ex Edicto Urbano: Si de hereditate ambigitur, si possessor, (sic cum Ernestio interpunge et intellige) sponsonem non faciet.*" Cicero adds: "*Quid id ad Prætorem, uter possessor est? nonne id quæri oportet, utrum possessorem esse oporteat? Ergo quia possessor est, non moves possessione; si possessor non esset, non dares.*" Now in order to understand all this, it appears to me necessary to keep the following circumstances in view: 1st. That the whole passage respects the temporary possession of the estate, during the law-suit; 2d. that the claimant had applied to the Prætor for temporary possession; 3d. that the Prætor, by the

clause in the edict, partly quoted by Cicero, "*si tabula testamenti non proferrentur*," gave up the temporary possession of the estate to the claimant; and 4th. that the Prætor remitted to this constituted possessor the usual obligation of giving security not to do any damage to the estate during the law-suit.

In the passage in question, which I have just quoted, the word *sponsio*, according to Menard, who seems to be right, is put for *satisfactio*; this is also the opinion of Ernesti, who has this note on the words of the text: "*Non movet possessione, i. e. etsi non satisfacit, quod qui recusabant possessione movebantur ex jure.*"

I thus freely translate the passage. From the *Edictum Urbanum*. In a contest respecting an heirship, if there is a possessor, he shall not be bound to give security not to do damage during the action. What does it signify to the Prætor who is the possessor? Ought he not rather to enquire who deserves to be the possessor? Now, by the clause in your edict, because such a person happens to be the possessor, you do not remove him from the possession even although he gives no security; but you make no provision for delivering over the possession to the right person, should the other be found to be improperly in possession. Cicero here adds: "*Nusquam enim scribis, neque tu aliud edicto amplecteris, nisi eam causam pro quâ pecuniam acceperas.*" Thus out of two members which should constitute this clause of the edict, you insert one only; which is a convincing proof, that it was not composed for general purposes, but for this particular cause. It is quite clear that the Prætor ought to have given temporary possession of the estate to the Minucian family, who, as next of kin to the deceased, were intitled to it, by a law of the twelve tables; and not to the claimant, who only supposed himself the heir, but produced no will to prove his title, and who, consequently, could have no just pretensions to the estate. In this interpretation your readers will perceive that I have differed toto cælo from Asconius, who, I say it with due reverence, seems to me to have forgotten himself intirely on this occasion.

W. D.

Lancaster, Jan., 1826.

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## NOTES ON THE ANTIGONE.

[Concluded from No. LXIV.]

737. *ἤ τις ἀνδρός ἐσθ' ἐνός*] This sentence was meant in one sense by Hæmon and understood in another by his father, as appears from the context. Hæmon meant to say, that the city was not deserving of the name, which consisted of but one citizen: thereby intending to insinuate that the tyrannical conduct of his father would cause all the inhabitants of Thebes to forsake their country. Creon interpreted the words to signify, that Hæmon judged that to be no city which was under the dominion of one man. In the former sense, the sentiment is the same as

Æ. R. 56. *ὥς οὐδὲν ἐστὶν οὔτε πύργος οὔτε ναῦς,  
ἔρημος ἀνδρῶν μὴ ξυνοικούντων ἔσω.*

742. *διὰ δίκης ἰὼν πατρί*] Verbs of motion followed by *διὰ* with a genitive case signify, to be involved or engaged in the action denoted by the noun: here—"engaged in litigation with your father."

So Phœn. 20. *καὶ πᾶς σὸς οἶκος βήσεται δι' αἵματος.*

489. *καὶ μὴ δι' ἔχθρας τῶδε καὶ φόβου μολῶν.*

See Phœn. 395. Æ. C. 899. Or. 1361. Andr. 417.

In the former part of this line Porson at Orest. 301. reads *παῖ κάκιστε* for *παγκάκιστε*. But to this alteration Schæffer objects, on the authority of Herman, who contends, Hom. H. to Apoll. 14. that where the interjection *ὦ* is used with a substantive and adjective, it is placed immediately before that word which is emphatic. "*Qui ὦ οἰκτροὶ παῖδες dicit; miseros alloquitur qui sunt pueri; qui ὦ παῖδες οἰκτροί, pueros, qui sunt miseri.*" If this be true, *ὦ παῖ κάκιστε* cannot stand here, since *ὦ κάκιστε παῖ* would be required.

*ὦ παγκάκιστη καὶ φίλων διαφθορά.* Hipp. 680.

756. *δούλευμα*] for *δούλος*, the abstract for the concrete. See above, 320.

758. *ἄληθες*;] This must not be mistaken for *ἀληθές verum*, which is oxyton. "*Ἀληθές* interrogatively is the language of one who is astonished at a preceding remark; and sometimes, as Brunck contends at Ran. Aristoph. 840., it conveys an ironical question: in Latin, *Itane?*"

Æ. R. 350. "*Ἀληθές; ἐνέπω σε τῷ κηρύγματι—* is it so?"

Cycl. 240. "*Ἀληθές; οὐκ οὖν κοπίδας ὡς τάχιστ' ἰὼν*

*θήξεις μάχαιρας.*

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NO. LXV.

C



See Suidas in the word Ἀληθεις.

759. χαίρων] Impunè; this is the common meaning of this participle, and κλαίων is used as in v. 754. in the sense of οὐ χαίρων, haud impunè.

Œ. R. 368. Ἀλλ' οὐ τι χαίρων δις γε πημονὰς ἐρεῖς.

Phil. 1299. Ἀλλ' οὐ τι χαίρων, ἣν τὸδ' ὀρθωθῇ βέλος.

Aristophanes uses the verb χαίρω in the same sense.

Plut. 64. οὗτοι μὰ τὴν Δήμητρα, χαίρήσεις ἔτι. And Equit. 235.

759. δενάσεις] Aj. 243. κακὰ δενάζων ῥήμαθ'.

766. ὦνῆρ, ἀναξ] The Chor. in Œ. R. 1073. says :

τί ποτε βέβηκεν, Οἰδίπους, ὑπ' ἀγρίας

ἄξασα λύπης ἢ γυνή;

for ὦνῆρ read ἀνῆρ.

768. φρονεῖτω μεῖζον ἢ κατ' ἄνδρ'] Let him entertain prouder sentiments than those which are proper for man. Φρονεῖν μέγα, signifies to be proud, as Phœn.

ὃ δ' εἰς ἀναυδος μέγα φρονῶν.

778. τεύχεται τὸ μὴ θανεῖν] Here the infin. with the article in the accusative, is put for the genitive, as in Œ. R. 1387.

οὐκ ἂν ἐσχόμην

τὸ μὴ ποκλεῖσθαι τοῦμὸν ἄθλιον δέμας.

But it must be remembered that the accusative of neuters is frequently found with verbs that regularly govern a gen. or dat. Phœn. 1191. Herod. v. 101. Thuc. iii. 1.

782. ὃς ἐν κτήμασι] This passage has excited much discussion, various emendations have been proposed, and not much good done. The schol. says, οὐ γὰρ μόνον ἀνθρώπων ἀλλὰ καὶ κτημάτων ἐρωῶμεν: love is exercised by man not only towards females, but also towards wealth and property. Brunck translates it *pecudum visceribus*, as if the reading were κτήνεσι. It may mean perhaps, who art found more peculiarly among men of property.

783. μαλακαῖς παρειαῖς] So Hor. Od. iv. 13.

Ille virentis et

Doctæ psallere Chiræ

Pulchris excubat in genis.

785. φοιτᾷς δ' ὑπερπόντιος]

786. ἀγρονόμοις]

Omnē adeo genus in terris hominumque ferarumque,

Et genus æquoræum, pecudes, pictæque volucres,

In furias ignemque ruunt: amor omnibus idem.

Virg. Georg.

787. ἀθανάτων] Trach. 450.

Οὗτος γὰρ ἄρχει καὶ θεῶν ὅπως θέλει.

Scott's Lay of the Last Minstrel.

Love rules the court, the camp, the grove,

And men below and saints above :

For love is heaven, and heaven is love.

Eurip. fr. Antig. 17. Ὡ παῖ Διώνης, ὡς ἔφης μέγας θεός

Δεινός τε, θνητοῖς γ' οὐδαμῶς ὑπόστατος

And fr. Phædr. Ἐρως γὰρ ἀνδρας οὐ μόνους ἐπέρχεται,

οὐδ' αὖ γυναῖκας, ἀλλὰ καὶ θεῶν ἄνω

ψυχὰς ταρασσει, καὶ πόντον ἔρχεται

καὶ τόνδ' ἀπείργειν οὐδ' ὁ παγκρατὴς σθένει

Ζεὺς, ἀλλ' ὑπείκει καὶ θέλων ἐγκλίνεται.

Eurip. Hipp. 1272.

See also Senec. Hipp. 273. and Eurip. chor. of Hippol. 527.

788. φεύξιμος] This and other verbal adjectives govern the same case as the verbs from which they are derived. So in Plaut. Aulul.

Quid tibi ergo meam, me invito, tactio est?

Plato Apol. 17. ἡ ἐμὴ τῷ θεῷ ὑπηρεσία—because ὑπηρετῶ governs a dative.

ἀμερίων ἐπ' ἀνθρώπων] ἐπὶ is here not in the sense of ἔπεισι—but the preposition—nor in the case of mortals of a day.

793. ἀνδρῶν ξυναιμῶν] This is the poetical manner of saying νεῖκος ξυναίμων ἀνδρῶν. Below we have ἰὼ ματρῶνι λέκτρων ἄται—which means ἄται ματρῶν γάμων . . .

So Horace Od. i. 31. Premant Calena falce quibus dedit Fortuna vitem—

for

premant falce

Quibus fortuna dedit Calenam vitem.

807. τὰν νεάταν ὁδὸν] So Alc. 626.

προσείπατ' ἐξιοῦσαν ὑστάτην ὁδόν.

And Trach. 876. βέβηκε Δηιάνειρα τὴν πανυστάτην

ὁδῶν ἀπάσων.

808. νεάτον δὲ φέγγος] So Polyxena complains in Hec. 411.

οὐποτ' αὖθις, ἀλλὰ νῦν πανύστατα,

Ἀκτῖνα κύκλον θ' ἡλίου προσόψομαι.

Before Ajax kills himself, Soph. Aj. 857. he says :

καὶ τὸν διφρευτὴν Ἥλιον προσεννέπω

πανύστατον δῆ, κοῦποτ' αὖθις ὕστερον.

See Alc. 208.

813. οὐθ' ὑμεναίων] Ἀνυμφος, ἀνυμέναιος ὧν μ' ἐχρῆν τυχεῖν.

Hec. 416.

818. κεῖθος] Hiding-place: the form κευθμῶν occurs in the same sense at the commencement of the Hec.

826. ἀτενής] Firm or firmly adhering: so Eur. fr. Temen. 2.  
καλὸν γ' ἀληθῆς κατενής παρρησία.

827. πετραία βλάστα] See the story of Niobe in Ovid's *Metam.*

Agathias has written an elegant epitaph on her:

Ὁ τύμβος οὗτος ἔνδον οὐκ ἔχει νέκυν

Ὁ νεκρὸς οὗτος ἐκτὸς οὐκ ἔχει τάφον

Ἄλλ' αὐτὸς αὐτῷ νεκρὸς ἐστὶ καὶ τάφος.

833. κατευνάζει] 'Consigns to the sleep [of death]: it is used in this sense Hipp. 562. πότμῳ φονίῳ κατεύνασθαι: so κοιμίζω, soporem mortis induco, Hec. 477.

τὰν Ζεὺς ἀμφιπύρῳ κοιμίζει φλογμῷ Κρονίδας.

where Professor Monk would read κατακοιμᾶ, for the sake of the metre.

837. τοῖσιν ἰσοθείοις] This is the reading of Brunck. He imagined that as the penult of ἴσος is short in the tragic writers, it continued so in the compound ἰσόθεος, which Porson proves not to be true, Eurip. Or. 9. Besides we should thus have a dactyl immediately followed by an anapaest, which Porson says, *very rarely*, Schæffer, *never* happens in an anapaestic system.

838. γαῖᾱμαι] Antigone considers herself insulted, because the chorus had hinted at her as being dead, φθιμένα, v. 836.

845. Θήβας τ' εὐαργμάτων] A similar epithet is applied to Thebes, in Herc. F. 467.

σύ τ' ἴσθαι Θηβῶν τῶν φιλαργμάτων ἄναξ.

857. ἔψαυσας ἃ. ἐμοὶ μ. (π. τ. ο. [λ' γων]. . . κλεινοῖς λαβ.) κλ. λαβ. has the same reference to ἔψαυσας πότμου, as ἐμοὶ has to ἔψαυσας μερίμνας. Matthiae, p. 549.

859. πατρὸς τριπόλιστον οἶτον] If these words be correct, they must be taken parenthetically, and governed by λέγω or κατὰ understood, as they cannot be made to depend on ἔψαυσας, which always has a genitive case after it.

883. Ἄρ' ἴστ', αἰοιδάς] Literally, Do you know whether one ought to say that no one will put an end to her chauntings and lamentations before she dies? Creon, enraged at the continued wailings of Antigone, insinuates that there will be no end to them, and therefore orders them to take her away.

897. ἐν ἐλπίσι τρέφω] Read ἐλπίσιν. The tragic writers, though they sometimes make long by position syllables short by nature, yet prefer to keep them short; so that three examples will be found where they are short, for one where they are long. Where a word ends with a short syllable followed by another beginning with two consonants such that the short syllable may

continue short, Porson says Orest. 64. that there is no instance of undoubted authority, where it does not remain so. He therefore recommends the insertion of the paragogic *ν*, where such lines occur as—

παρθένον ἐμῇ τε μητρὶ παρέδωκε τρέφειν.

905. οὐ γάρ ποτ' ἄν] The wife of Intaphernes. Herod. iii. 119. alleges the same reason for rescuing from death her brother in preference to her other relations.

Ἦ βασιλεῦ, ἀνὴρ μὲν μοι ἄν ἄλλος γένοιτο, εἰ δαίμων ἐθέλοι, καὶ τέκνα ἄλλα, εἰ ταῦτα ἀποβάλοιμι· πατὴρ δὲ καὶ μητὴρ οὐκ ἔτι μευ ζώντων, ἀδελφεὸς ἄν ἄλλος οὐδένι τρόπῳ γένοιτο.

909. κατθανόντος] sc. τοῦ προτέρου πόσιος. The genitive of the participle frequently stands alone without a substantive, where the subject is easily seen from the context. See Electr. 1344. Thuc. ii. §. 60.

917. ἄλεκτρον, ἀνυμέναιον, οὔτε τοῦ γάμου μέρος] These three expressions only convey one idea, namely that Antigone was, by her being put to death prematurely, deprived of marriage; and the repetitions are only used, in the language of querulous sorrow, to excite a greater effect. Polyxena in Hec. 416. complains similarly—I die

ἀνυμφος ἀνυμέναιος, ὧν μ' ἐχρῆν τυχεῖν.

Hipp. 547.

τὰν μὲν Οἰχαλία  
πᾶσι, ἄζυγα λέκτρων,  
ἄνανδρον τὸ πρὶν καὶ ἀνυμφον.  
ἄλεκτρ' ἀνυμφα γὰρ ἐπέβα  
μιαιφόνων γάμων ἀμιλλήμαθ'.

In Electr. Soph. 492.

The terms here used are in a different sense from these of Antigone, though there is the same repetition.

919. ἡ δύσμορος] For the use of the article here and v. 922. see above, v. 31.

926. παθόντες . . . ἡμαρτηκότες] The plural masc. applied by Antigone to herself. This is an instance of Dawes's canon. If a woman speak of herself in the plural number, she must use the masculine gender; and if she use the masculine gender in speaking of herself, she must also employ the plural number.

929. ἀνέμων . . . ῥίπαι] The same figure is found above, v. 136.

ἐπέπνευ ῥίπαις ἐχθίστων ἀνέμων.

931. τούτων τοῖσιν ἄγουσι] τούτων sc. ἐνεκα—on account of such conduct, i. e. if she will not cease from her violence. There is need of the paragogic *ν* with ἄγουσι, since the συνάφεια laid down by Bentley as prevalent in anapaestic verse, requires that the last syllable of every anapaestic line should not be (what

is called by grammarians) common, or indifferently long or short. The *συνάφεια* however does not apply to the versus paræmiacus. And that the last syllable of *ἀγούσι* cannot be made long before *βραδυτήτος*, see above, v. 897.

938. *θεοὶ τε πατρογενεῖς*] *Θεοὶ* is here, and very frequently elsewhere, used as a monosyllable. Herman reads *θεοὶ πατρογενεῖς τ'*, the words as they stand militating against his canon, that an anapæst never immediately follows a dactyl in anapæstic metre. For the same reason, in

941. *τὴν βασιλῖδα τὴν*] is altered by Schæffer to *τὴν βασιλὴν τὴν*.

*βασιλὴν ἢ βασιλεία*—*Σοφ. Ἰφιγενεία*. Hesych.

942. *οἶα πρὸς οἶαν*] The repetition of *οἶος* in the same sentence is almost peculiar to the Greeks, and gives great strength to the passage where it occurs.

*Soph. El. 752. οἷ ἔργα δράσας οἶα λαγχάφει κακά.*

*Alc. 145. ὦ τλήμων, οἶας οἶος ὦν ἀμαρτάνεις.*

*Trach. 1046. κλύουσ' ἔφριξα τάσδε ξυμφορὰς, φίλαι, ἀνακτος, οἶαις οἶος ὦν ἐλαύνεται.*

See more instances in Monk's *Alcestis*, 145.

944. *Δανάας*] *Hor. Od. lii. 16.*

*Inclusam Danaën turris ahenea*

*Robustæque fores et vigilum canum*

*Tristes excubiæ munierant satis*

*Nocturnis ab adulteris.*

The story of Danae is related in Apollodorus, lib. 2.

945. *ἀλλάξαι*] *Ἀλλάττω*, in its original meaning, signifies, to *change*, and here Danae is said “to have changed the light” for *darkness*, to have *quitted* the light. In *Hec. 481*. the chorus says, that she changed the chambers of death for slavery, or escaped the chambers of death :

*ἀλλάξας Ἀἶδα θαλάμους.*

955. *ζεύχθη δ' οξύχολος*] This son of Dryas was Lyncurgus. Homer mentions the offence committed by him, but not the punishment here alluded to, subsequent to it. *Il. Z. 130.*

*Οὐδὲ γὰρ οὐδὲ Δρύαντος υἱὸς κρατερὸς Λυκούργος*

*Δὴν ἦν ὃς ῥα θεοῖσιν ἔπουρανίοισιν ἔριζεν*

*Ὅς ποτε μαινομένοιο Διωνύσοιο τίθηνας*

*ἔειε κατ' ἡγάθεον Νυσήϊον· αἱ δ' ἅμα πᾶσαι*

*θύσθλα χαμαὶ κατέχευαν, ὑπ' ἀνδροφόνοιο Λυκούργου*

*μεινόμεναι βουπλήγῃ·*

*Καί μιν τυφλὸν ἔθηκε Κρόνου παῖς.*

956. *παρὰ δὲ Κυανέων . . . ὦ παῖ.*] This very difficult passage requires a *verbum verbo* translation, on the supposition that the text is correct. Brunck renders *βορεᾶς* as if it were *βορεᾶ* the

gen., and passes over the difficulties *sicco pede*. See the mythological story in Lempriere under 'Phineus.' "And near the twin sea of the Cyanean waters, the shores of the Bosporus and the Thracian Salmydesus (where Mars is the presiding god of the cities) beheld an accursed wound inflicted on the two sons of Phineus by a cruel wife, producing blindness on the cruelly mangled balls of their eyes, by the points of swords and shuttles [used] by bloody hands. And the wretched youths, pining away, mourned the wretched fate of their mother, having [as she had] a wretched offspring in consequence of her marriage, or, having an offspring who from the treatment of their step-mother could not engage in marriage. And she [the step-mother, Idæa] derived her origin from the ancient Erechthidæ; and in distant caves she was nourished amidst her paternal storms,—the daughter of Boreas, fleet as the horse over the lofty hills,—the daughter of the gods. But even against her the ever-living gods directed [their vengeance] O child."

967. διδύμας ἀλός] Twin, because the straits unite the Euxine sea with the Archipelago.

969. Σαλμυδησός] This is a bay in the Euxine sea, described by Æsch. Prom. v. 782. as particularly dangerous to sailors.

Σαλμυδησία γνάθος

ἐχθρόξενος ναύτησι, μητρὶα νέων.

971. Φισσοῖσι Φινειδαῖς] The two sons of Phineus, Plexippus and Pandion, or according to others, Gerymbas and Aspondus, by his first wife Cleopatra the daughter of Boreas. Here the participle (and it is so of an adjective) takes the gender and number of the gen., but the case of the noun which governs that genitive. II. B. 459.

ὥστ' ὀρνίθων πετεηνῶν ἔθνεα πολλὰ

ἔθνα καὶ ἔνθα ποτῶνται ἀγαλλόμεναι πτέρυγεσσι.

So Aj. 168. πτηνῶν ἀγέλαι, μέγαν αἰγυπιὸν ὑποδείσαντες.

Mathiæ G. G. p. 628.

1001. φθόγγον ὀρνίθων . . . κλάζοντας] This is called by grammarians the σχῆμα πρὸς τὸ σημαίνόμενον—κλάζοντας being put in the plural number, as if ὀρνίθας φθεγγομένους had preceded.

So Hec. 37. ὁ Πηλέως γὰρ παῖς, ὑπὲρ τύμβου φανείς κατέσχ' Ἀχιλλεύς, πᾶν στράτευμ' Ἑλληνικόν, πρὸς οἶκον εὐθύνοντας ἐναλίαν πλάτην.

εὐθύνοντας—as if πάντας στρατιωτὰς Ἑλληνικοὺς had preceded.

R. 964. Φεῦ, Φεῦ, τί δῆτ' ἄν, ὦ γύναι, σκοποῖτό τις τὴν Πυθόμαντιν ἐστίαν, ἥ τοῦς ἄνω κλάζοντας ὄρνις.

1011. καλυπτῆς . . . πιμελῆς] Of enveloping fat, of the fat which enveloped the limbs of the victim. Here καλυπτὸς has an active signification, though in general verbal nouns in πτος are used passively.

Trach. 445. ὥστ' εἴ τι τῷ 'μῶ τ' ἀνδρὶ, τῇδε τῇ νόσῳ  
ληφθέντι, μεμπτός εἰμι . . .

So that if I were to blame.

Hec. 1117. ὑποπτος ὃν δὲ Τρωϊκῆς ἀλώσεως . . .

Being suspicious of the capture of Troy.

Æsch. Prom. v. 890. τοῖς πεδαρσίοις κτύποις  
πιστὸς, τινάσσων χειρὶ πύρπνοον βέλος.

Sep. Æ. C. 1031. Phœn. 216. Philoct. 688.

1021. οὐδ' ὄρνις εὐσήμους ἀπορροιβδεῖ βοάς] This line has neither cæsura nor quasi cæsura. Such lines occur more frequently in Æsch. than in the other tragedians.

Æ. R. 738. ὦ Ζεῦ, τί μοι δρᾶσα βεβόλευσαι πέρι;

1022. βεβρωτες] This is an anacoluthon; the plural participle being referred to the singular ὄρνις, because ὄρνις is taken in a collective sense.

1028. σκαιότητ' ὀφλισκάνει] Incurs the imputation of folly. Ὑφλεῖν and ὀφλισκάνειν in prose writers govern a genitive, in the tragic writers generally, and in Euripides always, an accusative of the imputation incurred: ἀμαβίαν ὀφλήσεμεν, Hec. 527. and αὐθαδίαν ὀφλισκάνει, Med.

1030. τὸν θανόντ' ἐπικτανεῖν] 'To kill the dead over again, or in addition.

1034. ἀνδρὸς τοῦδε] ἀνὴρ ὅδε is used by a person speaking to designate himself.

1038. Ἥλεκτρον] properly signifies amber: but Eustath. Odys. 4. p. 1483. says that Sophocles had used the word in a bold manner to denote gold; Sardis being situated on the Pactolus, which was famous for its golden sands. But it is difficult to imagine that Sophocles would use both Ἥλεκτρον and χρυσὸν in the very same sense in two consecutive lines.

1084. τοιαῦτά σου] The order of the words is—ὥστε τοξότης, ἀφῆκα τοιαῦτα τοξεύματα σου καρδίας θυμῷ λυπῆς γὰρ.

Hec. 603. τοιαῦτα μὲν δὴ νοῦς ἐτόξευσεν μάτην.

1086. τῶν σὺ] Τῶν is here used for ὧν—the article for the relative, as 1035. ἀπρακτος ὑμῖν εἰμὶ τῶν ὑπὸ καὶ γένους. Valckenaer at Hipp. 527. had edited ἔρας, ἔρας ὧς κατ' ὁμμάτων—to the manifest injury of the metre, which evidently requires the article ὧν in the sense of the relative. This usage is common in Homer, and not unfrequent in the tragedians.

Sep. Theb. 36. σκοποὺς δὲ καὶ γὰρ καὶ κατοπτῆρας στρατοῦ  
ἐπεμψα, τοὺς πέποιθα μὴ ματᾶν ὄψαι.

See also Hipp. 468. Pers. 150. Bacch. 712. Trach. 730, 47, 381. Œ. R. 1379, 1427. Œ. C. 304. Agam. 535, 983. Of the Attic writers, the tragedians only use the article for the relative, not the comic and prose writers—and these only in the neuter and in the *oblique cases*. Matthiæ G. G. p. 404. But the latter part of this remark seems to be contradicted by the quotation from Hipp. 527. on the opposite page.

1087. ὦ παῖ, σὺ δ' ἡμᾶς ἀπαγε πρὸς δόμους] When a person is suddenly addressed in the Greek tragedies and other compositions, with or without the interjection ὦ, the noun is placed first, then the pronoun, and afterwards the particle.

Orest. 1063. Πυλάδῃ, σὺ δ' ἡμῖν τοῦ δόνου γενοῦ βραβεύς.

Hes. \*Erg. 210. Ὡς ἔφατ' ὠκυπέτης Ἴριξ, τανυσίπτερος ὄρνις.

Ὡ Πέρση, σὺ δ' ἄρουε δίκης.

1089. γινῶ τρέφειν] Verbs which indicate a perception by means of the external senses or the understanding, take after them a participle where the Latins would use the accusative and the infin. mood. But where the result of those verbs is to be expressed, then the Greeks also use the infin. as here :

Thus—γινώσκω θνητὸς εἶναι—I know that I am mortal.

γινώσκω θανεῖν—I know how to die.

i. e. how to die is the result of the knowledge. See v. 472.

1093. ἀμφιβάλλομαι τρίχα] I cast around *my* own head white hair, in the strict usage of the middle voice.

Ibid. ἐκ μελαίνης] Propert. iii. 5.

Atque ubi jam Venerem gravis interceperit annus,  
Sparsit et *nigras alba* senecta comas.

1098. εὐβουλίας δεῖ] For the different governments of δεῖ and χρῆ, see Porson. Orest. 659. Εὐβουλίας χρῆ, and in the following line τί δεῖται δεῖ δεῖν, would not be Greek.

1102. καὶ δοκεῖς παρειαθεῖν] These words would generally denote, And do you seem to submit, or yield? But here the context requires that ἐμὲ should be understood before παρειαθεῖν, and the passage translated, And do you think that I ought to yield?

In Eurip. Hec. 756. πατήρ νιν ἐξέπεμψεν, ὀρώδων θανεῖν. His father sent him out of the country, fearing that he (Polydorus) should die.

1103. συντέμνουσι] Angl., are concise with, or quickly cut down. The schol. explains it by συντόμως κατακόπτουσι καὶ βάλλουσι.

1105. μόλις μὲν, καρδίας δ' ἐξίσταμαι τὸ δεῖν] Brunck finds great difficulty in this passage, and proposes to read the two lines thus :



οἷ μοι· μόλις μὲν, καρδίας δ' ἐξίσταμαι  
τὸ δρᾶν δ' ἀνάγκη, κουχλὶ δυσμαχητέον.

But there will be no need for alteration, if ὥστε can be understood before τὸ δρᾶν: that it can be and is understood frequently before the infinitive is certain, but it is not so clear whether it can before the article and infin. On the latter supposition, the passage may be thus translated: Though very loth, and yet I quit my former resentment, [sc. against Antigone and Polynices] so as to act [according to your suggestion]: and a difficult contest must not be carried on with necessity.

1107. ἐπ' ἄλλοισι τρέπει] Read ἄλλοισιν. See above at v. 897.

1115. Πολυώνυμε] Bacchus was called by many names: Bacchus, Iacchus, Lyæus, Evius, Dithyrambus, Dimetrius, Iraphiotes.

1118. ἀμφέπει; Ἰταλίαν] Schol. διὰ τὸ πολυάμπελον τῆς χώρας.

1119. μέδεις δὲ παγκοίνου . . .] The order seems to be, μέδεις δὲ θεῶν παγκοίνου ἐν κάλποις Ἑλευσίνιας. The epithet παγκοίνου is here applied to Ceres, from the universality of support which, as the goddess of corn, she affords to men.

1126. ὑπὲρ διλόφου πέτρας] This rock is mount Parnassus, which had two peaks or tops, where two altars were kept continually blazing.

Phæn. 233.

Ἦ λάμπουσα πέτρα πυρὸς  
δικόρυφον σέλας ὑπὲρ ἄκρων  
Βακχείων Διονύσου.

See Bacch. 302.

1128. Κωρύκλαι Νύμφαι] So called because they lived near Corycium, the name of a cave in mount Parnassus.

1145. σπονδόντα πορθμόν.] This was either the Straits of Eubœa, or much more probably the Sicilian sea.

1158. τύχη γὰρ ὀρθοί . . .] Εὐτυχοῦντα refers to the nearer verb, and δυστυχοῦντα to the one more remote. The sentiment contained in these two lines is met with in many writers; though the elevation of the humble and the depression of the proud, is attributed to a higher source than chance or fortune.

Hor. Od. i. 34.

Valet ima summis  
Mutare et insignem attenuat Deus,  
Obscura promens. Hinc apicem rapax  
Fortuna cum stridore acuto  
Sustulit; hic posuisse gaudet.

Senec. Thyest.

Quem dies vidit veniens superbum,  
Hunc dies vidit fugiens jacentem.

See Hes. *Ἔργ. καὶ Ἡμέρ.* Diogenes Laert. book 1. relates that Chilon the philosopher being asked what God did, answered, that τὰ μὲν ὑψηλὰ ταπεινῶν, τὰ δὲ ταπεινὰ ὑψηλῶν.

1160. καὶ μάντις οὐδεὶς] So Aj. 1436. οὐδαὶς μάντις  
τῶν μελλόντων ὅ, τι πράξει . . .

1166. ἔταν προδῶσιν ἄνδρες . . . ζῆν τοῦτον] Mark here the transition from the plural to the singular under different circumstances from those mentioned at 707. and 1022.

1173. τεθνᾶσιν· οἱ δὲ ζῶντες αἴτιοι θανεῖν] The plurals are used to increase the pathos, in the first case, (see Longin. §. 23.) and in the second to diminish the severity of the remark: τεθνᾶσι refers only to Hæmon, and οἱ ζῶντες to Creon: with θανεῖν the article τοῦ is omitted.

1175. αὐτόχειρ] The context shows that αὐτόχειρ may signify a person suffering an act inflicted either by himself or by a near relation.

1177. αὐτὸς πρὸς αὐτοῦ] By his own hand: so the messenger Cæ. R. 1237. announces that Jocasta had perished αὐτὴ πρὸς αὐτῆς.

1182. παιδὸς] Porson. Phæn. 1362. makes περὶ understood before παιδός: the same construction occurs Cæ. C. 307.

κλύων σου δεῦρ' ἀφίξεται ταχύς.

Indeed the schol. on this passage of the Antigone supplies περί.

1184. ὅπως ἰκοίμην εὐγμάτων προσήγορος] That I might come to address my prayers: προσήγορος is also used actively with a gen. in Cæ. R. 1437. ὅπου κ. τ. λ.

1186. ἀνασπαστοῦ πύλης] And "I happen to be unfastening the bars of the gate violently torn open," sc. through her impatience to learn the cause of the lamentations raised by the domestics of her family.

1194. μαλθᾶσσιμ' . . . φανούμεθ'] See above 734. Here the change is from the singular to the plural. Hec. 730.

1195. ὀρθὸν ἢ λήθει ἀεὶ] Instances where the adjective predicated of the substantive is put in the neuter gender, occur in almost every page of Greek and Latin: Triste lupus stabulis, Dulce satis humor, Varium and mutabile semper fœmina, Virg.

Δεινὸν γυναῖξιν αἱ δι' ὠδίνων γόναί.

1197. νηλεὲς] derived from νῆ and ἔλεος pity, signifies, primarily, un pitying, and it is so used by Homer Il. Γ. 292.

Ἡ, καὶ ἀπὸ στομάχου ἀρνῶν τάμε νηλεῖ χαλκῷ.  
But here it denotes unpitied, and likewise in Cæ. R. 180.

νηλέα δὲ γένεθλα  
πρὸς πέδῳ θανατηφόρῳ  
κεῖται ἀνοίκτως.

νηλεῖς, ἀντὶ τοῦ ἐλέους μὴ τυχόν.

1199. Ἐνοδίαν] The goddess *Trivia*, another name for Hecate.

1209. ἄσημα βοῆς] for ἄσημος βοή. It does not often happen that the gen. of a masc. or fem. is governed of a neuter adjective.

Phœn. 1500. οὐ προκαλυπτόμενα βοστρυχάδεος ἄβρὰ παρηΐδος, for βοστρυχάδῃ ἄβρὰν παρηΐδα.

So also v. ἐμῶν ἀνολβα τῶν βουλευμάτων, for τὰ ἐμὰ ἀνολβα βουλευμάτων.

Æ. R. 261. κοινῶν τε παιδῶν κοῖν' ἄν . . . ἣν ἄν ἐκπεφυκότα, for κοῖνοι παῖδες ἦσαν ἄν ἐκπεφυκότες.

To this form of construction belongs the *strata viarum* for *stratas vias*, of Virg. *Æn.* i. 402.

1210. μᾶλλον ἄσσον] This is an instance of a double comparative; which, though not tolerable in our language, is frequently found in Greek.

Hom. Il. Ω. 243. Ῥηϊτέροι γὰρ μᾶλλον Ἀχαιοῖσιν δὴ ἔσσεθε.

Suppl. of Æsch. 287. μᾶλλον ἐμφερέστεραι

Hec. 381. μᾶλλον εὐτυχέστερος

Sept. Theb. 670. μᾶλλον ἐνδικώτερος,

and Hipp. 487. μᾶλλον ἀλγίων.

Iophon in Stob. *Ecl.* p. 173. has the extraordinary combination of μᾶλλον ἥσσον. See the remark of Apollonius Alexandrinus, quoted by Blomfield. Sept. Theb. 670.

1214. σαίνει] Σαίνω is properly said of a dog who wags his tail, and fawns upon his master: and thence it signifies *blandiri*, *valde arridere*, to charm. See Blomf. S. Theb. 379. and Monk's Hipp. 866.

1221. τὴν μὲν κρεμαστὴν] It is said of Phædra, Hipp. 778.

βασιλῆς οὐκ ἔτ' ἔστι δὴ

Γυνή, κρεμαστοῖς ἐν βρόχοις ἡρτημένη.

The commission of suicide by suspension was common among women. Jocasta in Æ. R., Phædra in Hipp., Antigone here, Deianira in the *Trachiniae*, Amata in Virg. *Æn.* xii. 603., are instances.

1242. τὴν ἀβουλίαν] Compare v. 1050.

1246. ἐλπίσιν δὲ βόσκομαι] Phœn. 407.

Αἱ δ' ἐλπίδες βόσκουσι φυγάδας.

1255. εἰ γὰρ οὐκ ἄγεις] The same phrase is used above v. 771.

1263. κτανόντας τε καὶ θανόντας βλέποντες ἐμφυλούς] The

plural used here (*κτανόντας* manifestly referring to Creon, and *θανόντας* to his son) gives greater emphasis and effect, so Eurip. *Hec.* 403. *χάλα τοκαῦσιν* [my mother] *εἰκότως θυμουμένοις*. See *CE. T.* 1184. *P. V.* 67. See also Longinus, §. 23.

1268. *ἀπελύθης*] *Sc.* ἀπὸ τοῦ βίου.

1303. *Μεγάρεως*] Either Megareus was the former husband of Eurydice before she married Creon, or a son of hers who had died prematurely, and had thereby been prevented from forming an illustrious marriage.

1327. *βράχιστα γὰρ κράτιστα*] This is an abbreviated expression for *ὅσῳ βράχιστα τοσούτῳ κράτιστα*. In Herod. vii. 203. we have *εἶναι θνητῶν οὐδένα οὐδ' ἔσσεσθαι, τῷ κακὸν ἐξ ἀρχῆς γινομένῳ οὐ συνέμειχθη, τοῖσι δὲ μεγίστοις αὐτέων μέγιστα*, i. e. *ὅσῳ μέγιστοι ἦσαν, τοσούτῳ μέγιστα*.

1337. *πεπρωμένης*]

What can be avoided,

Whose end is purposed by the mighty Gods?

Shakesp. *J. Cæs.* ii. 2.

1346. *ἐπὶ κρατὶ μοι πότμος εἰσήλατο*] So *CE. R* 263.

*νῦν δ' ἐς τὸ κείνου κρατ' ἐνήλαθ' ἡ τύχη.*

## BIBLICAL CRITICISM

*On the First and Second Chapters of St. Matthew; comprising a view of the leading Arguments in favor of their Authenticity, and of the principal Objections which have been urged on the subject. By LATHAM WAINSWRIGHT, M. A. F. S. A. of Emmanuel Coll. Cambridge, and Rector of Gt. Brickhill, Bucks, &c.*

No. VI.—[Continued from No. LXIV.]

HAVING dismissed the first class of objections, we may proceed to the consideration of those passages, in which the prophecies quoted from the writings of the Old Testament are declared to be accomplished by the events to which they are applied in these disputed chapters. They who are in any degree acquainted with theological pursuits need not be informed, that there are two modes of interpreting these prophecies, which have been ably defended by their respective advocates. It is maintained by one party, that many of the predic-

tions contained in the Old Testament are to be considered as having a primary and a secondary meaning,<sup>1</sup> and that while they have in the first instance been fulfilled in some nearer event, recorded in the history of the Jews, they have received a farther accomplishment in more remote transactions, connected with the advent and character of the Messiah. On the other hand, it is strenuously contended by their opponents, that the doctrine of a *double aspect*, as it is termed, of the prophecies in the sacred writings, is destitute of any real foundation, and that it is contrary to all the rules of interpretation applied to profane authors. According to their view of the subject, no prediction has more than one distinct signification, nor can it be construed, without violence, to refer to more than one determinate event.

To enter into a discussion of the merits of the question here stated, would at this time lead me to digress too far from the present inquiry; but I may be allowed to remark, that a reference to the example of ordinary writers appears to be, in the case before us, by no means conclusive. The history, government and literature of the Jewish nation must be regarded as indisputable exceptions to those which, as far as our knowledge extends, have ever existed in any other part of the globe. Every event, from the call of Abraham to the introduction of Christianity, formed an essential part of one uniform and comprehensive scheme which was gradually developed in the progress of ages, and which gave rise to a series of actions all allied to each other by the closest ties, and all conspiring to produce one extraordinary and magnificent end. Hence the origin among this people of different maxims of conduct from those which prevailed in other countries; hence the singular construction of their code of laws, and ceremonial of religion; and hence the peculiarity observable in the design and form of their literary compositions. That in our interpretation therefore of the latter we should in some few particulars deviate from the rules adhered to in the explanation of works which lay no claim to inspiration, and which contain no *prophecies*—professing to be divine, cannot be deemed inconsistent with a perfect regard to the principles of just criticism; especially when the practice is attended by a clearer elucidation of obscure passages than any other means would enable us to obtain.

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<sup>1</sup> The same opinion is held respecting some of the prophetic parts of the New Testament, of which the subversion of the Jewish polity, foretold in the 25th chapter of St. Matthew, affords a striking example.

But whatever may be the inference we adopt, it is clear that the prophecies in the Old Testament when quoted in the New, are viewed in a different light by these two classes of interpreters. By those who believe in the doctrine of a *double completion*, the predictions thus cited by the evangelists will be regarded as literally fulfilled by the events to which they are applied; while they will be considered by those who admit of the *single aspect* only, as nothing more than *accommodations*<sup>1</sup> to facts of a similar nature. This principle of accommodation is likewise received by many of those who ascribe a double meaning to some of the prophetic parts of the sacred writings; but in its application they must of necessity be confined to narrower limits. Without extending these preliminary remarks, I shall now proceed to show that the passages in the first and second chapters of St. Matthew which remain to be examined, are capable of being explained by one or both of the two modes

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<sup>1</sup> The first Christian writer who adopted the principle of accommodation was Clement of Alexandria. In modern times Bishop Kidder, Dr. Nicholls, Dr. Sykes, Bishop Chandler, and Dr. Campbell, have written in its defence. By the last-mentioned divine, in his translation of the gospels, the verb *πληρώθη* is rendered "was verified:" and he considers the expression *ἵνα πληρωθῇ* as often denoting no more, than that there was as exact a conformity between the event and the passage quoted, as there could have been if the former had taken place solely for the accomplishment of the latter.—On the other side Bp. Warburton, Dr. Whitby, Dr. Owen, and many other divines, contend that this mode of explanation is inadmissible. Others think that, though allowable in many cases, it cannot be adopted where the quotation is introduced by this and other similar expressions, "This was done that it might be fulfilled which was spoken by the prophet," &c. Dr. Eckerman, a German divine, and Dr. George S. Clarke, in his *Hebrew Criticism and Poetry*, London, 1810, maintain that the Old Testament contains no prophecy which literally relates to the person of Christ.

The principal English authors who have written with the express view of refuting the belief of a *double sense* in many of the prophecies of Scripture are, Dr. Sykes and Dr. Benson. Bp. Marsh also decidedly condemns the same doctrine, so strenuously advocated by Warburton in his *Divine Legation*, and maintains that no prophecy ought to be interpreted as having a secondary meaning, except in those cases where such an interpretation is authorised by the Scriptures themselves; and in order to ascertain in what particular passages a double application of prophecy is allowable, he concurs with professor Dathe in making the following distinction. Those quotations which are preceded by the formula, "*Then was fulfilled*," are to be considered in the light of accommodations; while those passages which are introduced by the formula, "*This was done that it might be fulfilled*," may properly be regarded as real prophecies. Vide Marsh's *Theolog. Lect.* p. 4. l. 22.

I have here described; and thus will the difficulties alleged by our adversaries be satisfactorily solved.

The first quotation which occurs after the genealogy, is contained in the 22d and 23d verses of the first chapter:—"Now all this was done that it might be fulfilled which was spoken of the Lord by the prophet, saying, Behold a virgin shall be with child, and shall bring forth a son, and they shall call his name Emmanuel."

The passage as it stands in Isaiah with the context is this: "And he said, Hear ye now, O house of David, is it a small thing for you to weary men, but will ye weary my God also? Therefore the Lord himself shall give you a sign; Behold a virgin shall conceive and bear a son, and shall call his name Immanuel. Butter and honey shall he eat, that he may know to refuse the evil and choose the good. For before the child shall know to refuse the evil and choose the good, the land that thou abhorrest shall be forsaken of both her kings."

The entire prophecy has been differently explained by those who admit the propriety of St. Matthew's quotation; and while some have considered it as solely applicable to our Saviour, others have regarded it as one of those predictions which were designed to be fulfilled first by some nearer, and afterwards by some more remote event. Both of these modes of

<sup>1</sup> In order to enable the reader to form a clearer judgment respecting these citations, it may not be improper to transcribe, first, the original Hebrew of each, next its translation in the Septuagint Version, and lastly the corresponding Greek text of St. Matthew. This, indeed, is the more necessary, as some of the objections are founded upon the discrepancies which subsist between the last and the two former.

The first passage is quoted from Isaiah, vii. 14.

Hebrew.

הנה העלמה הרה וילדת בן וקראת שמו עמנואל

Septuagint.

Ἰδοὺ ἡ παρθένος ἐν γαστρὶ λήψεται, καὶ τέξεται υἱόν, καὶ καλέσους τὸ ὄνομα αὐτοῦ Ἐμμανουήλ.

St. Matthew, i. 23.

Ἰδοὺ ἡ παρθένος ἐν γαστρὶ ἔξει, καὶ τέξεται υἱόν, καὶ καλέσους τὸ ὄνομα αὐτοῦ Ἐμμανουήλ.

It is observable that the Alexandrine MS. of the Septuagint has τέξει which agrees with St. Matthew; and that the Cambridge MS. of St. Matthew has καλέσους instead of the common reading καλίσουσιν. It is a point on which there appears to be but little difference of sentiment among those whose inquiries have been particularly directed to this subject, that the writers of the New Testament have, in their quotation from the Old, generally made use of the Septuagint version, though there are some places in which, it is obvious, they consulted the original Hebrew.

interpretation, however, are liable to the objection that the *whole* of the passage cannot without violence to the construction be made to apply literally to the birth of Christ. This difficulty is avoided by the explanation given by Dr. Kennicot; and indeed the solution afforded by this distinguished Hebraist,<sup>1</sup> is entitled to the approbation of every candid inquirer. He maintains, and in this interpretation he is followed by Dr. Owen, and other eminent divines, that these verses of Isaiah contain two distinct and literal prophecies; the first relating to Christ, the second to the prophet's son. The former, (included in vv. 13, 14, 15.) which predicts the birth of the Messiah, is addressed in the *plural* to the house of David, to assure them that, however discouraging the appearances of the present certainly were, they might look forward with confidence to the strict fulfilment of the promises made to their ancestors. And this, let it be observed, is the part which is cited by St. Matthew, as being alone suited to his purpose. The latter, that is, the prophecy expressed in the 16th verse, is applicable to the son of Isaiah, whose name was Shear-jashub, and is addressed to Ahaz (in the *singular*), to operate as a consolation to him in the danger to which he was then exposed by the invasion of his dominions by the kings of Israel and Syria.

Such then is the explanation<sup>2</sup> of what has been termed by some an insuperable difficulty; nor does it involve any thing inconsistent with the nature of the Jewish prophecies, or with the most correct views of the divine conduct.<sup>3</sup>

<sup>1</sup> See a sermon of Dr. Kennicot on Isaiah vii. 13-16. preached before the University of Oxford, and published 1765, and which has now become scarce.

<sup>2</sup> Whitby in locum, Owen's Modes of Quotation by the Evangelists, Abp. Newcome in loc.

<sup>3</sup> When there is a concurrence of opinion between persons who are in other respects decided opponents, we may certainly view this circumstance as a strong confirmation of the justness of that opinion. Under this impression, I may adduce Mr. Michael Dodson, whose translation of Isaiah was published several years after that of Bishop Lowth, as coinciding (except in one or two particulars) with the explanation given by Dr. Kennicot of the prophecy in question. \* It has been a subject of dispute whether the word העלמה, here signifies a *virgin* in its strict sense. In the Septuagint it is translated ἡ παρθένος; but in the versions of Aquila, Symmachus, and Theodotion, as appears from the remains of Origen's *Hexapla*, it is rendered by ἡ νύμφη. It is plain by the use of the *article* both in the Hebrew and the Greek, that the word, as it occurs in Isaiah, is intended to be *emphatical*; and it is remarkable that the same term העלמה is to be found only twice more in the Old Testament, and in both cases (as Dr. Owen observes) it denotes a particular and dis-



By those, however, who reject every interpretation inconsistent with a strict *unity* of sense, or who think that no part of the passage can admit of a literal application to the advent of Christ, the words in question may be regarded as *accommodated* by the Evangelist to the important fact he is there recording. And on this supposition, it will scarcely be denied that nothing could be more likely to attract the attention or to influence the minds of the Jews, for whose use this Gospel was more particularly designed, than a frequent reference to those writings, which they acknowledged to be inspired, and which formed an essential part of their devotional exercises.

The second passage which demands our notice occurs in the sixth verse of the second chapter: "And thou, Bethlehem in the land of Juda, art not the least among the princes of Juda; for out of thee shall come a Governor who shall rule my people Israel." It is admitted by our adversaries that this prophecy is applicable to our Saviour; and the objection therefore, which they here advance, is not derived from this source, but is founded on the great difference which subsists between the text of St. Matthew, and that of the Septuagint and the original Hebrew. It is true, indeed, that in the first part of the verse, where St. Matthew uses the expression *Bethlehem in the land of Judah*, the Septuagint has this variation; *Bethlehem, house of Ephratah*. No importance, however, can be attached to this circumstance, as it is rendered abundantly evident by a comparison of different texts in the Old Testament, that the terms<sup>2</sup> *Juda* and

tinguished virgin. In Genesis xxiv. 43. it refers to Rebekah, before she was married to Isaac; and in Exodus ii. 8. to Miriam, the sister of Moses. In addition to these remarks, it must not be forgotten that when Justin Martyr, in his Dialogue with Trypho, and Irenæus in his third book against Heresies, accuse the Jews of corrupting this passage in Isaiah (vii. 14.) they are speaking of those versions which translate the word *עלמה* by *νανία* instead of *παρθένος*.

<sup>1</sup> This citation is taken from the prophecies of Micah, v. 2.

Hebrew.

וְאַתָּה בֵּית-לֶחֶם-אֶפְרַתָּה צָעִיר לְהוֹיֹת בְּאַלְפֵי יְהוּדָה מִמֶּד לִי יֵצֵא לְדוֹת מַעֲשֵׂל בִּישְׂרָאֵל:

Septuagint.

Καὶ σὺ, Βηθλὲμ, οἶκος τοῦ Ἐφραθᾶ, ἐλιγιστὸς εἶ τοῦ εἶναι ἐν χιλιᾷσι τοῦδα ἢ καὶ σοὶ μοι ἐξελίσσεται, τοῦ εἶναι εἰς ἀρχόντα τοῦ Ἰσραὴλ.

St. Matthew, ii. 6.

Καὶ σὺ, Βηθλὲμ, γῆ Ἰούδα, ὀλιγώτερος ἐλαχίστη εἶ ἐν τοῖς ἡγεμόσιν Ἰούδα ἢ καὶ σοὶ γὰρ ἐξελεύσεται ἡγεμόνος, ὅστις ποιμανεῖ τὸν λαόν μου, τὸν Ἰσραὴλ.

<sup>2</sup> Thus in Genesis (xxxv. 91.) we meet with the following passage: "And Rachel died, and was buried in the way to Ephratah, which is Bethlehem." The same place is called Bethlehem Judah in Judges xvii.

*Ephratah*, as they occur in the instances before us, only designate the same place. A similar observation may be applied to the term *princes* here used by the Evangelist, which is in truth equivalent to the corresponding word *thousands* in the Septuagint. There still exists a difference of more consequence; for the language of Micah, "And thou Bethlehem Ephratah, though thou be little among the thousands of Judah, &c." appears to be directly contradicted by the quotation of St. Matthew, "And thou Bethlehem, in the land of Juda, art not the least among the princes of Juda, &c." This is unquestionably an inconsistency which requires to be reconciled; and we accordingly find that the judgment of the learned has not been exercised in vain. The first mode of solving this apparent difficulty is that proposed by Dr. Owen, who considers it as evident from the Arabic version, and from Jerome's Commentary on St. Matthew, that the Septuagint originally contained the particle  $\mu\eta$  in this place. This supposition is certainly countenanced by the reading now extant in four Greek<sup>1</sup> Manuscripts,  $\mu\eta$  ὀλιγοστίς; and more particularly by the evidence afforded by several of the early Fathers. It is certainly not a little remarkable that in quoting this identical verse, the words of Justin Martyr are οὐδαμῶς ἐλαχίστη; those of Tertullian, non minima; of Origen, οὐκ ὀλιγοστίς; and of Cyprian, non exigua. Hence it has been concluded by some critics that the negative particle (Ν7) non, nequaquam, was by some accident obliterated from the original Hebrew, and that the Greek was afterwards altered to render it coincident with the former.

But there is another method of obviating the present objection, more simple, and more satisfactory; and that is, by reading the first clause of the prophecy in Micah as an interrogation. "Art thou too little to be among the leaders of Judah?" This

7. "And there was a young man out of Bethlehem-judah, of the family of Judah, &c." Again, in the book of Ruth, (i. 1.) Elimelech, the husband of Naomi, is called a man of *Bethlehem Judah*; but afterwards in the 4th chapter of the same book, when Boaz his brother married Ruth, and purchased Elimelech's inheritance, he is thus addressed, "Do thou worthily in *Ephratah*." In the 1st book of Samuel, Jesse is called the Ephrathite of Bethlehem-judah.

The *thousands* of Judah, as Dr. Whitby observes in his note on this passage, and the *princes* of Judah, have precisely the same signification. The tribes of Israel were divided into thousands, and over each thousand was placed a prince or governor; and therefore *among the princes* and *among the thousands* are synonymous expressions.

<sup>1</sup> The Barbarini Ms., Pachomian Ms. Laud. K. 96, Ms. in Brit. Mus. 1. B. 2, and Ms. in New College, Oxford.

mode of considering the passage, agreeably to the idiom of most languages, implies the *negation* which we find in St. Matthew, and prevents the necessity of supposing any alteration in the original text.<sup>1</sup>

In the fifteenth verse of the same chapter of St. Matthew, we meet with the following citation from the prophecies of Hosea: "That it might be fulfilled which was spoken of the Lord by the prophet, saying, Out of Egypt have I called my son."<sup>2</sup> The verse in Hosea, in which these words are found, stands thus; "When Israel was a child, then I loved him, and called my son out of Egypt." Our opponents here allege that this language manifestly relates to the deliverance of the Israelites from their state of slavery under the Egyptians, long antecedent to the time of the prophet, and therefore can have no connexion with the event to which it is applied by the sacred historian. In reply, however, we may observe that some divines regard Israel in the original passage as the *type* of Christ, and in this case, the application is made with the greatest propriety to the *antitype*, in whom the declaration was strictly accomplished. Nor is it any objection to our considering the language of Hosea on this occasion as *prophetical*, that it refers to a fact which had happened long before; for, as Dr. Owen well observes, "how frequently are David and Solomon introduced in Scripture as types of the Messiah, and that even long after they were departed out of the world!"

I am perfectly aware that this explanation will not satisfy those who deny the existence of types and antitypes, as well as of primary and secondary meanings, in the inspired writings. By such persons the second mode of interpreting the quotations of the New Testament before referred to, will be found easy and natural; and indeed in the present instance it is preferred

<sup>1</sup> This solution has been adopted by Grotius, Olearius, Bp. Pearce, Dr. Campbell, and Abp. Newcome.

<sup>2</sup> This quotation is taken from Hosea, xi. 1. \* —

Hebrew.

וממצרים קראתי לבני:

Septuagint.

Ἐξ Αἰγύπτου μετεκάλεσα τὰ τέκνα αὐτοῦ.

St. Matthew, ii. 15.

Ἐξ Αἰγύπτου ἐκάλεσα τὸν υἱόν μου.

The variation of the LXX. in this place from the original cannot now be accounted for, except by admitting with Dr. Owen, that the text has been corrupted; for it is observable that the versions of Aquila, Symmachus, and Theodotion, exactly coincide with the Hebrew and St. Matthew.

by many of those who consider both methods as equally admissible. It is the remark of Bishop Chandler and of Archbishop Newcome, that the phrase *that it might be fulfilled*, is sometimes used in a more popular manner, when any striking *similarity* is intended to be pointed out between a prophecy in the Old Testament and a fact recorded in the New. "Its meaning here is (observes the learned prelate last mentioned), that the words which Hosea uses of the Israelites, were ~~applic-~~ applicable to an event in the life of Jesus Christ: and being verified anew in the transaction here related, the Evangelist accommodates them to his present purpose."<sup>1</sup>

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DEUXIÈME INSCRIPTION du Voyage de  
FR. CAILLIOU à l'Oasis de Thèbes.

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Ἰούλιος Δημήτριος, Στρατηγὸς Ὁάσεως Θηβαΐδος.

Τοῦ πεμφθέντος μοι διατάγματος ὑπὸ κυρίου ἡγέμονος Τιβερίου Ἰουλίου Ἀλεξάνδρον τὸ ἀντίγραφον ὑμῖν ὑπέταξα ἵν' αἰδότες ἀπολαύ-  
ητε τῶν εὐεργεσιῶν.

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<sup>1</sup> Whitby in locum, Owen's Modes of Quotation, Bp. Chandler's Vindication of Christianity, Bp. Pearce and Abp. Newcome in loc. It may be proper here to notice the objection of Dr. Williams and other writers, that the *flight* of Joseph with Mary and Jesus *into Egypt*, cannot be explained so as to render it at all consistent with the other parts of the sacred narrative. It could not take place from Bethlehem, they allege, because St. Luke informs us that after continuing there forty days, the infant Christ was taken to Jerusalem to be presented in the temple, and was thence carried to *Nazareth*; nor could it be from the latter place, they affirm, because the slaughter of the infants executed by the command of Herod did not extend so far, as it was confined to "Bethlehem and all the coasts thereof." The whole of this difficulty, however, is at once removed by supposing, (and there is every thing to favor the supposition,) that the stay of Joseph at Nazareth was short, and that after arranging his affairs he returned to Bethlehem with Mary and Jesus, where they might have lived a considerable time before the arrival of the wise men. The circumstances, indeed, stated by the Evangelist, lead us to believe that an interval of some length took place between the birth of Christ and the actual appearance of the wise men. On the return from Egypt it was Joseph's design, we are informed by St. Luke, to go to Judæa (i. e. we may infer, to Bethlehem), but in consequence of the divine intimation, he went to Nazareth. The argument therefore derived from St. Luke's silence respecting the flight into Egypt, or any change of place, cannot be allowed to possess any real weight, when opposed to the mass of direct evidence.

L. Β. Λουκίου Λιβίου Σεβαστοῦ Σουλπικίου Γάλβα αὐτοκράτορος  
φαωφί Α' Ιουλία Σεβαστῇ.

(1) Τιβέριος· Ιούλιος· Ἀλέξανδρος λέγει.

Πᾶσαν πρόνοιαν ποιούμενος τοῦ διαμέν[ειν] ἐν τῷ προσήκοντι κατα-  
στήματι τὴν πόλιν ἀπολαύουσιν τῶν εὐεργεσιῶν ἃς ἔχει παρὰ τῶν  
σεβαστῶν, καὶ τοῦ τὴν Αἴγυπτον ἐν εὐσταθείᾳ διάγουσαν εὐθύμως ὑπη-  
ρεῖν τῇτε Εὐθηνίᾳ καὶ Τρισμεγίστῃ τῶν νῦν καιρῶν εὐδαιμονίᾳ, μὴ  
βαρυνόμενῃ καιναῖς καὶ καὶ ἀδίκαις εἰσπράξεσι, σχέδον δὲ ἐξ οὗ τῆς  
πόλεως ἐπέβη καταβοώμενος ὑπὸ τῶν ἐντυγχανόντων καὶ κατ' ὀλίγους  
καὶ κατὰ πλήθη, τῶντε ἐνθάδε εὐσχημονεστάτων καὶ τῶν γεωργούν-  
των τὴν χώραν, μεμφομένων τὰς ἐγγίστα γενομένας ἐπηρείας, οὐ διέ-  
λιπον μὲν κατὰ τὴν ἑμαυτοῦ δύναμιν τὰ ἐπείγοντα ἐπανορθούμενος.  
ἵνα δὲ εὐθυμότεροι πάντα ἐλπίζητε παρὰ τοῦ ἐπιλαμψαντος ἡμῖν ἐπὶ  
σωτηρίᾳ τοῦ παντὸς ἀνθρώπου γένους, εὐεργέτου σεβαστοῦ αὐτοκρά-  
τορος Γάλβα, τάτε πρὸς σωτηρίαν καὶ τὰ πρὸς ἀπόλαυσιν, καὶ γινώσ-  
κητε ὅτι ἐφρόντισα τῶν πρὸς τὴν ὑμέτεραν βοηθείαν ἡκόντων, προέγρα-  
ψα ἀναγκαιῶς περὶ ἐκάστου τῶν ἐπιζητούμενων, ὅσα ἔξεστί μοι κρίνειν  
καὶ ποιεῖν. τὰ δὲ μείζονα καὶ θεόμενα τῆς τοῦ αὐτοκράτορος δυνάμεως  
καὶ μεγαλειότητος αὐτῷ δηλώσω μετὰ πάσης ἀληθείας, τῶν θεῶν τα-  
μιευσαμένων εἰς τοῦτον τὸν· νεώτατον καιρὸν τὴν τῆς οὐκουμένης  
ἀσφάλειαν.

Ἔγνων γὰρ πρὸ παντὸς εὐλογωτάτην οὖσαν τὴν ἔντευξιν ὑμῶν ὑπὲρ  
τοῦ μὴ ἄκοντας ἀνθρώπους εἰς τελωνίας ἢ ἄλλας μισθώσεις· οὐ σιτι-  
κὰς παρὰ τὸ κοινὸν ἔθος τῶν ἐπαρχειῶν πρὸς βίαν ἀγεσθαι, καὶ ὅτι οὐκ  
ὀλίγως ἐβλάψε τὰ πράγματα τὸ πολλοὺς ἀπείρους ὄντας τῆς τοιαύτης  
πραγματείας ἀχθῆναι μετ' ἀνάγκης, ἐπιβληθέντων αὐτοῖς τῶν τελῶν.  
(2) διόπερ καὶ αὐτὸς οὔτε ἡγαγόν τινα εἰς τελωνίαν ἢ μίσθωσιν οὔτε  
ἄλλω· εἰδὼς τοῦτο συμφέρειν καὶ ταῖς κυριακαῖς ψήφοις τὸ μετὰ προ-  
θυμίας ἐκόντας πραγματεύεσθαι τοὺς (3) δυνατούς. πέπεισμαι δὲ  
ὅτι οὐδ' εἰς τὸ μέλλον ἄκοντάς τις ἄξει τελῶνας ἢ μισθωτάς· ἀλλὰ  
διαμισθώσει τοῖς βουλομένοις ἐκουσίως προέρχεσθαι, μᾶλλον τὴν τῶν  
προτέρων ἐπάρχων αἰώνιον συνήθειαν φυλάσσω, ἢ τὴν πρόσκαιρόν  
τινος ἀδικίαν ἡμιησάμενος.

Ἐπειδὴ ἔνιοι προφάσει τῶν δημοσίων καὶ ἀλλότρια δάνεια παραχω-  
ρούμενοι εἰς τε τὸ (4) πρακτόρειόν τινας παρέδωκαν, καὶ εἰς ἄλλας  
φυλακὰς· δέκα, ἃς δι' αὐτὸ τοῦτο ἔγνων ἀναιρεθεῖσθαι· ἵνα αἱ πράξεις  
τῶν δανείων ἐκ τῶν ὑπαρχόντων αὐτοῖς καὶ μὴ ἐκ τῶν σωματίων, ἐπόμε-  
νος τῇ τοῦ θεοῦ Σεβαστοῦ βουλήσῃ κελεύω μηδένα τῇ τῶν δημοσίων  
προφάσει παραχωρεῖσθαι παρ' ἄλλων δάνεια ἢ μὴ αὐτὸς ἐξ ἀρχῆς  
ἰδανείσει, μηδ' ὅλως κατακλείεσθαι τινας ἐλευθέρους εἰς φυλακὴν ἡντι-

νοῦν, εἰ μὴ κακουργόν, μηδὲ εἰς τὸ πρακτόρειον, ἔξω τῶν ὀφειλόντων εἰς τὸν κυριακὸν λόγον. ἵνα δὲ μηδαμῶθεν βαρύνῃ τὰς πρὸς ἀλλήλους συναλλαγὰς τὸ τῶν δημοσίων ὄνομα, μηδὲ συνέχῃσιν τὴν κοινὴν πίστιν οἱ τῇ πρωτοπραξίᾳ πρὸς ἃ μὴ δεῖ καταχρῶμενοι <sup>1</sup> κριταί, περὶ ταύτης ἀναγκαίως προέγραψα. ἐδηλώθη γάρ μοι πολλάκις ὅτι ἤδη τινὲς <sup>1</sup> κριταὶ ὑποθήκας ἐπέειραν ἀφελέσθαι νομίμως γεγωνυίας, καὶ ἀποδεδομένα δάνεια παρὰ τῶν ἀπολαβόντων ἀναπράσσειν πρὸς βίαν, καὶ ἀγορασμοὺς ἀναδάστους ποιεῖν, ἀποσπῶντες τὰ κτήματα τῶν ~~καθησά~~ μένων ὡς συμβεβληκότων τισὶν ἀναβολικὰ εἰληφῶσιν ἐκ τοῦ φίσκου, ἢ στρατηγοῖς ἢ πραγματικοῖς ἢ ἄλλοις τῶν προσωφεληκότων τῷ δημοσίῳ λόγῳ. Κελεύω οὖν, (5) ὅστις ἂν ἐνθάδε (6) ἐπίτροπος τοῦ κυρίου ἢ οἰκόνομος ὑποπτόν τινα ἔχῃ τῶν ἐν τοῖς δημοσίοις πράγμασιν ὄντων, (7) κατέχεσθαι αὐτοῦ τὸ (7) ὄνομα, ἢ (8) προγράφειν ἵνα μηδεὶς τῷ τωούτῳ συμβάλλῃ ἢ <sup>2</sup> Β, μέρη τῶν ὑπαρχόντων αὐτοῦ (7) κατέχειν ἐν τοῖς δημοσίοις γραμματοφυλακίοις προσοφείλημα. ἐὰν δὲ τις μῆτε ὀνόματος κατεσχημένου μῆτε τῶν ὑπαρχόντων κρατουμένων, δανείσῃ νομίμως λαβὼν ὑποθήκην ἢ φθάσῃ ἃ ἐδάνεισε κομίσασθαι, ἢ δ' <sup>3</sup> αὐτὴν ὀνήσῃται τι μὴ κατεχομένον τοῦ ὀνόματος μηδὲ τοῦ ὑπάρχοντος, οὐδὲν πρᾶγμα ἔξει.

Τὰς μὲν γὰρ προίκας ἀλλοτρίας οὐσας καὶ οὐ τῶν εἰληφῶτων ἀνδρῶν ἰδίας, ὁ θεὸς Σεβαστὸς ἐκέλευσεν <sup>4</sup> εἶτά τ' οἱ ἑπαρχοὶ ἐκ τοῦ φίσκου ταῖς γυναῖξιν ἀποδίδοσθαι, ὧν βεβαίαν δεῖ τὴν πρωτοπραξίαν φυλάσσειν. Ἐνετεύχθη δὲ καὶ περὶ τῶν ἀτελειῶν καὶ κουφοτελειῶν ἐν αἷς <sup>5</sup> (9) ἔστ' ὅτι τὰ προσδοκᾶ, ἀξιούντων αὐτὰς φυλαχθῆναι ὡς ὁ θεὸς Κλαύδιος ἔγραψε (10) Ποστόμῳ (10 *his*) ἀπολύων, καὶ λεγόντων ὕστερον κατακεκρίσθαι τὰ ὑπὸ ἰδιωτῶν <sup>6</sup> πραθέντα ἐν τῷ μέσῳ χρόνῳ μετὰ τὸ (10) Φλάκκον κατακρίναι, καὶ πρὸ τοῦ τὸν θεὸν Κλαυδίου ἀπολύσαι. Ἐπεὶ ἔδ' ἐξῆς (10) Βάλβιλλος καὶ (10) Οὐεστεινὸς ταῦτα ἀπέλυσαν ἀμφοτέρων τῶν ἐπαρχῶν ἐπικρίματα φυλάσσω <sup>8</sup> ἅτε δὴ ἐκείνων κατηκολουθηκότων τῇ τοῦ θεοῦ Κλαυδίου χάριτι, ὥστε ἀπολελίσθαι τὰ μηδέπω ἐξ αὐτῶν εἰσπραχθέντα· δηλονότι εἰς τὸ λοιπὸν τηρουμένης αὐτοῖς ἀτελείας καὶ κουφοτελείας. ὑπὲρ δὲ τῶν ἐκ τοῦ Καίσαρος λόγου <sup>6</sup> πραθέντων ἐν τῷ μέσῳ χρόνῳ περὶ ὧν ἐκφόρια κατεκρίθη, ὡς Οὐεστεινὸς ἐκέλευσε τὰ καθήκοντα τελεῖσθαι [παρ' αὐτῶν αὐ]τὸς Ἰσθημι ἀπολελυκὶς τὰ μηδέπω εἰσπραχθέντα καὶ πρὸς τὸ μέλλον μένειν αὐτὰ ἐπὶ τοῖς καθήκουσιν. ἄδικον γάρ ἐστι τοὺς ὠνησαμένους κτήματα καὶ τιμὰς αὐτῶν ἀποδόντας ὡς δημοσίους γεωργοὺς ἐκφόρια ἀπαιτεῖσθαι τῶν ἰδίων ἐδαφῶν.

<sup>1</sup> Ἀκόλουθον δ' ἔστι ταῖς τῶν σεβαστῶν χάρισι καὶ τὸ τοῦς ἐγγενεῖς

<sup>1</sup> ΚΑΙ ΚΑΙ.  
<sup>5</sup> ΕΣΤΙΝΚΑ.

<sup>2</sup> Ι.  
<sup>6</sup> ΠΡΑΧΘΕΝΤΑ.

<sup>3</sup> ΚΑΙ.  
<sup>7</sup> ΟΤΗΚΑΙ.

<sup>4</sup> ΝΚΑΙ.  
<sup>8</sup> ΝΚΑΙ.

Ἀλεξανδρεῖς' κατ' Αἴγυπτον διὰ φιλεργίαν κατοικοῦντας εἰς μηδεμίαν [τελεῖν λειτουργίαν ἔξω τῆς πόλεως.] πολλάκις μὲν ἐπεζητήσατε <sup>2</sup> μ' αὐτὰς δὲ φυλάσσω ὥστε μηδένα τῶν ἐγγενῶν Ἀλεξανδρέων εἰς λειτουργίας χωρικὰς ἄγεσθαι.

Μελήσει δέ μοι καὶ τὰς στρατηγίας μετὰ διαλογισμὸν πρὸς τριετίαν ἐγχειρίζειν τοῖς κατασταθισμένοις. καθόλου δὲ κελεύω ὅσακις ἐπαρχος ἐπ' αὐτὸν (12) τὰ ἀχθέντα ἔφθασε κρίνας ἀπολύσαι, μηκέτι ~~ἐπὶ διαλογισμὸν ἄγεσθαι~~. ἐὰν <sup>3</sup> ὁ ἐξῆς δύο ἐπαρχοὶ τὸ αὐτὸ πεφρονηκότες ὡσι,<sup>4</sup> σὺν δίκη-κολαστεύς ἐστιν ὁ ἐκλογιστής ὁ τὰ αὐτὰ εἰς διαλογισμὸν <sup>5</sup> (12) δεύτερον ἐπὶ μηδὲν ἄλλο ποιῶν πλην ἀργυρισμοῦ πρόφασιν καταλείπων ἑαυτῷ καὶ τοῖς ἄλλοις πραγματικοῖς πολλοὶ γοῦν ἠξίωσαν ἐκστῆναι μᾶλλον τῶν ἰδίων κτημάτων ὡς [ἡδὲ] πλείον τῆς τιμῆς αὐτῶν ἀνηλωκότες [ἦ] διὰ τὸ καθ' ἕκαστον διαλογισμὸν τὰ αὐτὰ πράγματα εἰς κρίσιν ἄγεσθαι· τὸ δὲ αὐτὸ καὶ περὶ τῶν ἐν ἰδίῳ λόγῳ πραγμάτων ἀγομένων ἴσθημι, ὥστε εἴ τι κριθὲν ἀπελύθη ἢ ἀπολυθήσεται ὑπὸ (12) τοῦ πρὸς τῷ ἰδίῳ λόγῳ τεταγμένου, μηκέτι ἔξεῖναι <sup>6</sup> πρῶτῳ εἰσαγγέλλειν κατηγορῶν, μηδὲ εἰς κρίσιν ἄγεσθαι, ἢ ὁ τοῦτο ποιήσας ἀπαραιτήτως ζημιωθήσεται. οὐδὲν γὰρ ἔσται πέρας τῶν συκοφαντημάτων ἐὰν τὰ ἀπολελυμένα ἀγῇται ἕως τις αὐτὰ κατακρίνῃ· ἡδὲ <sup>7</sup> τε τῆς πόλεως σχεδὸν ἀοικῆτον γενομένης διὰ τὸ πλῆθος τῶν συκοφάντων, καὶ πάσης οἰκίας συνταρασσομένης. Ἀναγκαίως κελεύω ἐὰν μὲν τις, τῶν ἐν ἰδίῳ κατηγορῶν, ὡς ἑτέρῳ συνηγορῶν εἰσάγῃ ὑπόθεσιν, παρίστασθαι ὑπ' αὐτοῦ τὸν <sup>8</sup> (13) προσεισαγγεῖλαντα ἵνα μηδὲ ἐκεῖνος ἀκίνδυνος ᾖ. ἐὰν δὲ ἰδίῳ ὀνόματι κατενεγκὼν τρεῖς ὑποθέσεις μὴ ἀποδείξῃ, <sup>9</sup> μὴ ὅτι ἔξεῖναι αὐτῷ κατηγορεῖν, ἀλλὰ τὸ ἥμισυ αὐτοῦ τῆς οὐσίας ἀναλαμβάνεσθαι. ἀδικώτατον γάρ ἐστι πολλοῖς ἐπάγοντα κινδύνους ὑπὲρ οὐσιῶν, καὶ τῆς ἐπιτιμίας αὐτὸν διαπαντὸς ἀνεύθυνον εἶναι.

Καὶ Καθόλου <sup>10</sup> διαπεύσομαι τὸν (14) γινώμονα τοῦ ἰδίου λόγου ἵνα τὰ κεινοποιηθέντα παρὰ τὰς τῶν σεβαστῶν χάριτας (15) ἐνορθωσάμενος προγράψω [πρὸς τὸ μέλλον τὰ τελεσθισόμενα.

Τοὺς μὲν ἐξ]ελεγχθέντας συκοφάντας ὡς ἔδει ἐτιμωρησάμην, οὐκ ἄγνωῶν δ' ὅτι πολλὴν πρόνοιαν ποιείσθε καὶ τοῦ τὴν Αἴγυπτον ἐν εὐσταθείᾳ [διαμένειν] ἐξ ἧς [τοσαύτας] χορηγίας ἔχετε, ὅσα (16) οἷός τε ἦν ἐπηνωρθωσάμην. ἐνέτυχον γάρ μοι πύλλாகις οἱ καθ' ὅλην τὴν χώραν γεωργοῦντες καὶ ἐδήλωσαν ὅτι πολλὰ καινῶς κατεργάσαν[σαν ἐκφόρια ἢ ἀλλὰ] τελέσματα σιτικά καὶ ἀργυρικά· καὶ οὐκ ἔξον τοῖς βουλομένοις εὐχερῶς καθολικόν τι καινίζειν ταῦτα <sup>12</sup> αὐ καὶ τὰ τοιοῦτα κατακρίματα οὐκ ἐπὶ τὴν Θηβαίδα μόν[ην, οὐ]δ' ἐπὶ τοὺς πόρρω Νομοὺς τῆς

<sup>1</sup> ΚΑΙΕΝΤΗ-ΟΛ.<sup>2</sup> Κ.<sup>3</sup> ΔΕΚΑΙ.<sup>4</sup> ΚΑΙΚΝ.<sup>5</sup> ΑΟΝ.<sup>6</sup> ΠΟΤΤΩΙ.<sup>7</sup> ΔΕ.<sup>8</sup> ΠΡΟΕΛΓΕΙΔΑΝΤΑ.<sup>9</sup> ΜΗΚΕΤΙ.<sup>10</sup> ΝΕΤΤΟΜΑΙ.<sup>11</sup> Α.<sup>12</sup> ΔΕ.

κάτω χώρας, ἀλλ' <sup>1</sup> ἐπὶ τὰ προάστεια τῆς πόλεως ἔφθασεν τήντε Ἀλεξανδρέων καλουμένην χώραν, καὶ τὸν Μαρεώτην. [παραγγέλλω το]ῖς κατὰ νομὸν στρατηγοῖς ἵνα εἴ τινα καινῶς τῇ ἔγγιστα πενταετείᾳ τὰ μὴ πρότερον τελούμενα καθολικῶς ἢ <sup>2</sup> παροικῶς νομῶν ἢ τοπα[ρχ]ιῶν ἤτοι ιδιωτῶν κατ[ε]κρίθῃ ταῦτα εἰς τὴν προτέραν τάξιν ἀποκαταστήσωσι, παρέντες αὐτῶν τὴν ἀπαίτησιν ἃ καὶ ἐπὶ τὸν διαλογισμὸν ἀχθέντα ἐκ τῶν [λογιστηρίων ἀθετήσουσιν. (17) <sup>3</sup> Ἐ]ώσας αὐτίκα πρότερον καὶ τὴν ἄμετρον ἐξουσίαν τῶν ἐκλογιστῶν διὰ τὸ ~~πᾶσι~~ αὐτῶν καταβοᾶν ἐπὶ τῷ (18) παραγράφειν αὐτοὺς πλεῖστα ἐκ π[άν]των τῶν τέλω]ν ἐξ οὗ συνέβαινεν αὐτοὺς μὲν ἀγγυρίζεσθαι τήνδ' Αἴγυπτον ἀνάστατον γίνεσθαι, καὶ νῦν τοῖς αὐτοῖς παραγγέλλω μηδὲν ~~ἐξ~~ ὁμοίων [λογιστηρίων ~~ἔ~~γρα]γράφειν ἀλλαχῇ ἄλλοτε τῷ καθόλου, χωρὶς τοῦ κρίναι τὸν ~~ἐπαρχον~~. Κελεύω δὲ καὶ τοῖς στρατηγοῖς μηδὲν παρ' ἐκλογιστῶν μεταλαμβάνειν, χωρὶς ὑ[φ]ηγήσεως ἰδ[ίας] ἐπαρχου. καὶ οἱ ἄλλοι <sup>4</sup> δὴ πραγματικῇ, ἕαν τι εὐρηθῶσι ψευδὲς ἢ παρὰ τὸ δέον παραγεγραφότες, καὶ τοῖς ιδιωταῖς ἀποδόσουσι ὅσον ἀπητήθησαν, καὶ τοσοῦτον τίσουσιν εἰς τὸ δημόσιον.

Τῆς αὐτῆς κακοτεχνίας ἐστὶν <sup>5</sup> ἔτι ἡ λεγομένη κατὰ σύνοψιν ἀπαίτησις, οὐ πρὸς τὴν οὖσαν Ἀναβά[σεως] μέτρησιν γενομένη, ἀλλὰ πρὸς σύγκρισιν ἀρχαίας ἐτέρων τινῶν Ἀναβάσει [τῇ οὕτῃ. ὡς μὲν] τῆς ἀληθείας οὐδὲν δοκεῖ δικαιότερον εἶναι· θαρ[ρό]ντας δὲ βουλόμενος τὴν χῶραν ἡσυχῆς οἰ[κεῖν] καὶ προθύμως γεωργεῖν τοὺς ἀνθρώπους, [προγραφῶ] ἀναγκαιῶς ὅτι πρὸς τὸ ἀληθὲς τῆς οὕσης Ἀναβάσεως καὶ βεβρεγμένης [γῆς κατὰ τὸ κοινὸν ἔθος, καὶ] οὐ πρὸς συκοφαντίαν τῶν κατὰ σύνοψιν παραγεγραφομένων ἢ ἀπαίτησις ἔσται. ἕαν δὲ τις ἐξελεγχθῇ ψευδάμενος [εκλογιστῆς, βούλομαι τοῦ ἀπητηθημένου αὐ]τὸν τριπλάσιον ἀποδόσειν.

Ὅσοι μὲν γὰρ ἐφοβήθησαν ἀκούσαντες περὶ ἀναμετρήσεως τῆς ἐν τῇ Ἀλεξανδρέων [χώρα] πρὸς σύγκρισιν γενησομένης τῆς ἐν] τῷ Μεγαλίτῃ ἀρχαίας, εἰς ἣν [μὴν] οὐδέποτε σχοίνιον κατηνέχθη, μὴ μάτην <sup>6</sup> εὐηθίζήσθωσαν· οὔτε τις τολμήσει [χωρὶς τοῦ ἐπαρχου αὐτῆς ποιῆσαι] τὴν ἀναμέτρησιν, οὔτε ἐπαρχος ἐφ[ι]ήσεται, (19) μένειν γὰρ ὀφείλει τὰ ἐξ αἰῶνος αὐτῇ δίκαια.

Τὸ δὲ αὐτὸ ἴσθημι περὶ τῶν το[ιούτων] καινοποιηθέντων καὶ περὶ τῶν ἄλ[λων] προσγεννημάτων ὥστε οὐδὲν ἐπ' αὐτῶν καινίζεσθαι. Περὶ δὲ τῶν ἀρχαιοτελ[ειῶν] καὶ μισθ[ω]σεω[ν] ἐγκει[μένω]ν ὑμῖν αἰς [καταχρώμενοι οἱ πραγματικῶς] τὸ δημόσιον οὐδένο[ς] ὀνησάσαι πολλάκις ὡ[σαύτως] πλέον περιε[πο]ίησαν πλὴν ἀγγυρισμοῦ τῶν πραγμ[ατικῶ]ν] καὶ τῆς τῶ[ν] ἐκλογιστῶν ἐπη[ρείας] πρόφασιν κατέλιπον, Καίσα[ρ]ι σεβαστῷ Ἀυτοκράτορι γράψ[ω] καὶ μέγιστα τῶν ἄλλων [κα]κὰ αὐτῷ δηλώσω μόνῃ δυναμ[ένῳ] τὰ τοιαῦτα ὁλ[οκλήρ]ως ἐκκόπτ[ειν].

<sup>1</sup> ΚΑΙ.  
<sup>5</sup> ΔΕ.

<sup>2</sup> ΠΛΗΘΙΚΩΣ.

<sup>3</sup> Ε·ΩΛΕΑΕΤΙΚΑ.  
<sup>6</sup> ΕΥΝΟΚΕΙΕΘΩΛΑΝ.

<sup>4</sup> ΚΙ.



[Τὸ παρὸν ὑμῖν ὑποτάξα, ἵνα γίνηται φανερὰ] ἀ τῆς τῶν πάντων  
[ὑμῶν] σωτηρίας ἢ δ[ι]νεκῆς [περι]ργασία καὶ πρόνοιά [μου].

Ἔτους πρώτου Λυκίου Λιβίου Σουλπικίου Γάλβα Καίσαρος σεβαστοῦ αὐτοκράτορος, Ἐπιφί I B.

### Traduction.

“Julius Démétrius, Stratège de l’Oasis de Thèbes.

“J’ai fait mettre sous vos yeux la copie conforme à l’original du Décret qui m’a été adressé par le Seigneur Préfet Tibère Jules Alexandre, afin que vous le connussiez, et que vous puissiez jouir des avantages qu’il vous promet. Seconde année du règne de Lucius Livius Auguste Sulpicius Galba, Empereur, Phaophi 1<sup>re</sup>, Julie Auguste.

“Tibère Alexandre dit : M’appliquant autant qu’il était en moi à maintenir la ville d’Alexandrie dans la situation la plus prospère et dans la jouissance des bienfaits qu’elle a reçus des Empereurs, non moins qu’à procurer à l’Egypte le bien-être qui la fasse se livrer avec zèle aux travaux qui assurent l’abondance, et la très grande félicité des tems où nous vivons, à l’abri de toutes concussions nouvelles ; dès mon arrivée dans cette ville je me suis vu assiégé par les réclamations de tous ceux qui m’abordaient tant en particulier qu’en général, aussi bien les personnages les plus éminens de la ville que les habitans de la campagne, qui tous se plaignaient des vexations récentes qu’ils avaient endurées, et me suis hâté de redresser les injustices les plus criantes, autant qu’il a été en mon pouvoir.

“Cependant afin que reprenant confiance vous espériez tout de la part du bienfaisant Auguste l’Empereur Galba, né pour le salut du genre humain, tant pour les choses qui concourent à votre conservation que celles qui vous promettent des jouissances, et afin que vous sachiez que j’ai songé à tout ce qui pouvait tendre à votre soulagement, j’ai rédigé des décrets exprès sur chacun des objets qui m’étaient demandés et qu’il était en mon pouvoir de décider et d’ordonner. Quant à ceux d’une plus grande importance et qui relèvent de la puissance et de la majesté impériale, je les ferai connaître avec toute vérité au Prince lui-même : les Dieux ayant rendu enfin, dans ces derniers tems, le calme à l’univers.

“J’ai reconnu avant tout que rien n’était plus fondé que la demande que vous m’avez adressée pour que les habitans ne fussent pas contraints, contre l’usage constant des provinces et malgré leur opposition, d’entrer dans la ferme des Contributions,

ou dans les autres fermes qui ne s'acquittent pas en denrées ; en même tems qu'il m'a été démontré que ce n'était pas un médiocre préjudice pour les revenus de l'Etat, que d'en confier la gestion à une foule de gens inexpérimentés qu'on y traînait par force et qui gémissaient sous ce fardeau. En conséquence, je n'ai introduit ni n'introduirai d'autorité personne dans la ferme des impôts, ni dans les autres fermes du revenu public, sachant combien il importe au Trésor que ses intérêts ne soient remis qu'à des hommes de bonne volonté, qui seront désignés à cet effet. Je suis persuadé en outre qu'aucun Préfet à l'avenir ne contraindra personne de prendre de telles fermes, mais qu'il affirmera à ceux qui viendront s'offrir d'eux-mêmes, se conformant plutôt à l'usage immémorial des anciens Préfets, qu'il ne sera tenté d'imiter l'injustice passagère d'un de leurs successeurs.

“ Puisqu'il est constant que des fonctionnaires publics, sous le prétexte de l'intérêt de l'Etat, et parcequ'ils s'étaient fait céder des dettes antérieures à leur administration, ont détenu plusieurs personnes dans le Pignerarium, ou dans les dix autres prisons que j'ai su avoir été réservées pour cet usage ; afin que les contraintes pour dettes s'exercent sur les biens et non sur les personnes, ainsi que l'a voulu le Dieu Auguste, j'interdis que personne, sous le prétexte d'intérêt de l'Etat, se fasse céder par autrui des créances qui dans le principe n'étaient pas les siennes, et surtout qu'on puisse renfermer des hommes libres dans une prison quelconque, hormis les malfaiteurs, et qu'enfin l'on puisse détenir dans le Pignerarium d'autres personnes que les comptables du Trésor en débit.

“ Pour faire ensorte que le nom de l'Etat ne vienne pas troubler les transactions individuelles, et que les Juges qui abusent de ce privilège contre tout droit ne viennent pas entraver les actes soumis à la foi publique, j'ai publié un décret exprès sur cette matière ; car il m'a été démontré plusieurs fois que des magistrats ont essayé de faire annuler des hypothèques légalement prises, d'arracher par force des mains de ceux à qui on les avait rendus des fonds prêtés par eux, de rendre caducs des marchés en reprenant les biens à ceux qui les avaient achetés ; le tout sous le prétexte qu'ils avaient contracté avec des hommes redevables au Trésor de sommes pour lesquelles ils avaient obtenu des délais, soit stratèges, soit employés des finances, ou enfin tous autres comptables de leur gestion envers le Trésor de l'Etat.

“ Je veux que tout résidant en cette ville comme Procureur de l'Empereur ou Administrateur des Finances, qui soupçonne la

solvabilité d'un employé des contributions, se fasse donner des garanties de son débit, publie que personne n'ait à contracter avec lui, ou enfin prenne pour hypothèques les deux tiers de ses biens en les faisant enregistrer au bureau des archives publiques comme un cautionnement; ensorte que ceux dont les débits n'ont pas été garantis, dont les biens n'ont pas été inscrits aux hypothèques, puissent prêter en prenant eux-mêmes une hypothèque légale, ou recueillir des prêts antérieurs, ou même acheter, n'étant engagés ni par dette ni dans leurs biens, et le tout sans crainte d'aucun trouble.

“Quant aux dots qui sont étrangères aux maris. qui les ont reçues, le Dieu Auguste a ordonné et par suite les Préfets, que la restitution en fût faite par le fisc, aux femmes dont le privilège doit demeurer inviolable.

“J'ai été sollicité relativement à l'exemption entière ou à la réduction de tribut des terres grévées d'une redevance en nature, qui ont été concédées avec cette faveur. On demandait qu'elles fussent maintenues dans leur immunité comme l'avait prescrit le Dieu Claude écrivant à Postume, lors de la remise qu'il fit des dettes antérieures. Les mêmes personnes me dirent qu'on avait prononcé des condamnations (au paiement de la dîme) contre des terres (provenant du domaine impérial) retrocédées par des particuliers dans l'intervalle écoulé entre les condamnations de Flaccus et la remise de ces mêmes condamnations par le Dieu Claude.

“Puisque successivement Balbillus et Vestinus ont tenu les premiers quittes des échéances arriérées, je maintiens les décisions de ces deux Préfets, qui en cela n'ont fait que se conformer aux ordres bienveillans du Dieu Claude; ensorte que toutes les sommes non encore perçues sont remises, étant entendu que les immunités, soit totales soit partielles, sont maintenues pour l'avenir. Quant aux biens provenant du domaine de César vendus dans l'intervalle indiqué et à l'égard desquels des condamnations en paiement de dîme ont été prononcées, comme Vestinus a ordonné qu'ils fussent soumis aux taxes établies, je confirme cette décision, les dégageant de toutes les sommes qui seraient dues sur le passé et déclarant que pour l'avenir ils n'auront à payer que les taxes établies et communes. Il est injuste en effet que des hommes qui se sont rendus acquéreurs de biens dont ils ont payé le prix se voient demander comme à des métayers du domaine la dîme de leurs propres fonds.

“C'est une conséquence naturelle des bienfaits des Empereurs que les natifs d'Alexandrie, qui se sont répandus en Égypte pour y exercer une industrie quelconque ne soient astreints à

aucune autre prestation que celles de la ville. Or vous m'avez souvent demandé, et je vous accorde, que les Alexandrins ne puissent être assujettis à des prestations rurales.

“ J'aurai soin que l'administration des Stratèges soit rendue pour trois ans à ceux qui seront remis en charge après la reddition de compte de leur administration précédente. Mais je défends absolument que lorsqu'un Préfet aura jugé une fois, et qu'il aura prononcé la légalité des actes cités devant lui, on puisse les citer de nouveau. Et si deux Préfets de suite ont prononcé de même, on devra punir le Receveur des Finances qui n'aura amené deux fois devant eux la même discussion que pour se donner ainsi qu'à ses collègues un moyen de profits illicites. Aussi plusieurs Magistrats ont préféré se laisser dépouiller de leurs propres biens comme en ayant déjà dépensé la plus grande partie, plutôt que de voir à chaque nouvelle vérification les mêmes faits remis en question. J'établis la même règle pour les comptes à rendre de la part des agents du Trésor. En sorte que si quelques-uns de leurs actes après jugement ont obtenu ou sont dans le cas d'obtenir une décision favorable de la part du Commissaire de la Comptabilité, il ne sera plus permis au premier accusateur de porter plainte, ni on ne pourra reproduire la même instance, ou bien celui qui l'aura fait sera irrémissiblement puni d'une amende. En effet il n'y aura plus de terme aux délations, si les questions une fois résolues dans l'intérêt d'un comptable sont de nouveau mises en discussion jusqu'à ce qu'elles trouvent un condamné ; lorsque déjà la ville est devenue déserte par la multitude des délateurs, et que chaque famille en est troublée.

“ J'ordonne expressément que si quelqu'un accusant des Agens du fisc introduit l'instance comme prenant fait et cause pour un tiers intéressé, il soit tenu de faire comparaître ce tiers accusateur avec lui, afin qu'il n'échappe pas au danger de la procédure. S'il introduit trois instances en son propre et privé nom sans prouver ses accusations, non-seulement il lui sera interdit de se porter accusateur, mais on lui prendra la moitié de ce qu'il possède. Ce serait en effet une souveraine injustice qu'appelant sur plusieurs le danger de perdre leur bien, il fût entièrement à l'abri d'une peine pécuniaire.

“ Je reviserai entièrement le tarif des perceptions du Trésor, afin qu'ayant réformé toutes les innovations qui ont eu lieu contre les intentions bienfaisantes des Empereurs, je les fixe pour l'avenir.”

(Aux Employés des Finances ou aux Alexandrins.)

“ J'ai châtié jusqu'ici comme je le devais les hommes qui ont

été reconnus faux dénonciateurs ; mais rendant justice à la pureté de vos intentions pour la prospérité de l'Egypte, et pour voir renaître l'abondance dans un pays qui vous procure de si grandes ressources, j'ai réglé ce qu'il m'a été possible de faire pour elle. En effet les cultivateurs répandus dans l'Egypte m'ont souvent représenté et m'ont donné la preuve, que des ~~condamnations~~ à la dîme ou d'autres contributions tant en grains qu'en argent, avaient été prononcées contre eux contrairement aux anciennes institutions, et lorsqu'il n'est permis à personne d'innover, même pour alléger les taxes, les condamnations de ce genre se sont répandues non-seulement dans la Thébaidé et les Nomes éloignés de la Basse Egypte, mais aux portes mêmes de la ville et dans la contrée dépendante d'Alexandrie et le Nome Maréotique. J'ordonne à chaque Stratège, dans son district, que si pendant les cinq dernières années des perceptions inusitées, soit particulières soit générales, ont été ordonnées au préjudice des nomes, des cantons, et même des particuliers, ils rétablissent les choses sur l'ancien pied, en arrêtent la perception, et enfin lors de la vérification des comptables la fassent disparaître des rôles.

“ Ayant réprimé dès le principe la licence sans mesure des percepteurs, qui au dire général se permettaient d'effacer sur les rôles les sommes qui y étaient précédemment inscrites pour le tribut, de manière à s'enrichir en jettant le trouble dans toute l'Egypte, je leur enjoins de nouveau de ne se permettre aucune rature sur les doubles de leurs livres en aucun lieu, en aucun tems, en aucune manière, à moins d'une décision spéciale du Préfet. Je défends aux Stratèges de s'immiscer en quoi que ce soit dans les altérations d'écriture des livres des percepteurs sans le commandement particulier du Préfet ; et si d'autres employés des finances sont découverts avoir effacé des sommes précédemment inscrites, le tout faussement et sans autorisation, ils payeront aux particuliers tout ce qu'ils en avaient extorqué, et de plus verseront au trésor une somme pareille.

“ C'est encore par une prévarication de la même espèce qu'on a exigé la perception dite moyenne, qui ne se règle pas d'après la mesure véritable de l'inondation, mais d'après la moyenne proportionnelle de la mesure ancienne de quelques inondations avec l'inondation présente. Or comme rien ne paraît plus juste en fait de mesure que la vérité évidente, et voulant inspirer aux habitants la confiance nécessaire pour qu'ils occupent paisiblement le pays et se livrent avec zèle aux travaux de l'agriculture, je décide que la perception se fera d'après l'état exact de l'inondation et l'étendue des terres submergées, comme d'au-

tume et non suivant la supercherie des substitutions d'écriture, d'après la mesure moyenne de l'inondation. Si quelque percepteur est convaincu d'imposture à cet égard, il payera au trésor le triple de la somme touchée.

“ Quant à ceux qui ont été alarmés en entendant parler d'un nouvel arpentage qui devait avoir lieu dans le territoire d'Alexandrie pour le mettre en rapport avec l'ancien arpentage du Nome Ménélaïte, quoique l'on n'ait jamais porté la chaîne sur le terrain, qu'ils cessent de concevoir des idées dépourvues de vraisemblance. Personne n'osera exécuter sans l'ordre du Préfet, et aucun Préfet ne permettra qu'on fasse cet arpentage ; car ce territoire doit conserver des droits acquis de tems immémorial. J'en dis autant de toutes les innovations et créations semblables, pour qu'on ne puisse pas en introduire désormais.

“ Pour ce qui est des anciens impôts et des anciennes fermes dont vous êtes chargés, et dont les employés des finances abusent au point que sans augmenter en rien les ressources du trésor ils font naître des causes de richesses pour les receveurs et de vexations de la part des percepteurs, j'en écrirai à César Auguste, Empereur ; je lui ferai connaître le plus grand nombre des autres abus comme pouvant seul complètement les détruire.

“ J'ai fait publier les présentes afin de vous donner la preuve de ma constante sollicitude et prévoyance pour votre bien-être.

“ L'an premier du règne de Lucius Livius Sulpicius Galba César Auguste, Empereur, le douze du mois Epiphi.”

(1) Tibère Jules Alexandre, Préfet d'Egypte, auteur de ce décret, est un personnage assez connu dans l'histoire pour que nous ne soyons incertains ni de son origine ni des principaux actes de sa vie. Trois auteurs contemporains en parlent : Joseph, Tacite, et Suétone. Ils le nomment uniquement Tibère Alexandre, supprimant le nom intermédiaire de Jules, qu'il paraît n'avoir porté que pour indiquer une sorte de clientèle de la famille du Dictateur, lequel au reste n'avait point laissé d'héritier de son nom. Mais les étrangers admis au droit de bourgeoisie prenaient ordinairement un patron parmi les grandes familles Romaines, et tel était Alexandre. Juif d'origine, natif d'Alexandrie, où une nombreuse colonie de cette nation existait, à la faveur des privilèges dont ils faisaient remonter l'origine à Alexandre lui-même, que les Ptolémées maintinrent ou méconnaurent successivement, qui depuis la réduction de l'Egypte en province Romaine éprouvèrent sous Caligula une attaque dont le récit circonstancié nous a été transmis par Philon dans son

ambassade vers Caius César, et à laquelle ils échappèrent par la mort du Tyran. Cette colonie de Juifs avait un premier magistrat nommé Alabarche, nom hybride, moitié Grec moitié barbare, sur l'étymologie et la signification précise duquel on n'est pas d'accord (V. Schneider Dict. Grec-Allem. in voce.) Philon, Juif Alexandrin, dont les écrits sont parvenus jusqu'à nous, était frère d'Alexandre Lysimaque, Alabarche. A l'époque de la persécution de Caligula, suscitée par Flaccus, Préfet d'Égypte, Alexandre Lysimaque, détenu par cet empereur, ne reconvra la liberté qu'à sa mort et par les ordres de Claude, qui avait pour lui des motifs particuliers d'attachement et même de reconnaissance, en ce qu'il avait rendu des services importants à sa mère Antonia, comme chargé de ses affaires, vraisemblablement en Égypte (Joseph liv. 19. c. 4. Havercamp liv. 19. c. 5.) Uni par des liens de parenté à la famille d'Hérode, ce fut lui qui prêta à Hérode Agrippa, lorsque se rendant à Rome il passa à Alexandrie, l'argent nécessaire pour ce voyage qui pensa lui être si funeste tant que vécut Tibère, et devint après la cause de son élévation. Pearson, dans ses *Lectiones in Acta Apostol.* p. 41. croit le retrouver sous le nom d'Alexandre seulement, nommé au 4<sup>e</sup> chapitre des Actes comme faisant partie du Sanhédrin qui fit appeler devant lui St. Pierre et St. Jean, pour lui rendre compte du miracle du boiteux qui était assis à la porte du temple : l'auteur sacré dit qu'il était de race sacerdotale.

Cet Alexandre Lysimaque était père de notre Tibère Alexandre et d'un Marcus qui, fiancé à Bérénice, fille d'Hérode Agrippa, mourut avant la célébration de son mariage, (Joseph Antiq. 19. liv. c. 4. Havercamp, liv. 19. c. 5.) et aussi vraisemblablement de Démétrius, le plus qualifié et le plus riche de tous les Juifs d'Alexandrie dont il était Alabarche, et qui épousa Mariamne deuxième fille du même Agrippa (Joseph Antiq. liv. 20. c. 5. Havercamp, liv. 20. c. 7.)

La première mention que fasse Joseph de Tibère Alexandre est au livre 20. chapitre 5. (Havercamp liv. 20. c. 5.) de ses Antiquités, où il dit que Tibère Alexandre succéda à Fadus dans sa charge de Gouverneur de la Judée : il ajoute "qu'il était fils d'Alexandre, Alabarche d'Alexandrie, le plus riche de toute cette grande ville, qui n'avait pas été impie comme son fils qui abandonna notre religion. C'est de son tems qu'arriva en Judée cette grande famine dans laquelle la reine Hélène fit

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La division des chapitres suivie dans l'édition de Joseph donnée par Havercamp diffère de celle adoptée par Arnaud d'Andilly.

paraître sa charité . . . Cumanus succéda à la charge de Tibère Alexandre . . . en la huitième année de l'Empereur Claude (V. Guerre des Juifs, liv. 2. c. 19.) Havercamp. liv. 2. c. 11 et 12. Traduction d'Arnaud d'Andilly.

Sous le règne de Néron, Tibère Alexandre reparait dans la guerre contre Tiridate, comme intendant de l'armée de Corbulon. Voici comme en parle Tacite, Annal. lib. xv. 28. : "Die pacta Alexander, illustris eques Romanus, minister, bellidatus, et Vivianus Annius, gener Corbulonis, nondum senatoria ætate, sed pro legato quintæ legionis impositus, in castra Tiridatis venêre honorê ejus, ac ne metueret insidias, tali pignore." Ceci eut lieu en l'année 817 de Rome, 64 de J. C.

Dans l'histoire de la guerre des Juifs, liv. 2. c. 26. (Haverc. l. 2. c. 15.) Joseph nous annonce l'arrivée de Tibère Alexandre comme Préfet d'Égypte. "Agrippa (roi de Chalcide, fils d'Agrippa le Grand) était alors allé voir à Alexandrie Alexandre, à qui Néron avait donné le gouvernement de l'Égypte."

Quelle est l'époque indiquée ? celle où Gessius Florus, gouverneur de Judée, désolait ce pays, et jetait les premières semences de cette guerre qui depuis entraîna la prise de Jérusalem et l'incendie du Temple, et qui commença, dit Joseph, (l. 2. c. 24. Haverc. liv. 2. c. 14.) en la douzième année du règne de Néron. On peut donc regarder que la guerre éclata l'année suivante ou la seconde année après l'arrivée de Tibère Alexandre en Égypte. Pendant la 9<sup>e</sup> année (64 de J. C.) de Néron, Tibère Alexandre était employé à la guerre contre Tiridate, comme nous l'apprend Tacite. Ce n'a donc pu être qu'en la dixième ou onzième année de ce même Empereur, que Tibère vint à Alexandrie comme Préfet, c'est-à-dire un an ou deux avant la date du décret qui nous occupe, Néron ayant cessé de régner le 9 Juin, 68 de J. C. et le décret étant des premiers jours du règne de Galba.

Pour suivre le récit des actes de la vie de Tibère Alexandre, nous trouvons que Joseph en fait de nouveau mention au chap. 36 (Haverc. c. 18.) du même livre, au sujet du démêlé qui eut lieu entre les Grecs et les Juifs d'Alexandrie, toujours à cause des privilèges de ces derniers (les Juifs) : "N'ayant pu les faire rentrer dans l'ordre par ses exhortations, il les fit charger par de . . . légions Romaines et 5,000 soldats venus de Lybie. La mort de 50,000 personnes inonda d'un déluge de sang cette malheureuse contrée, et il n'en fut pas échappé un seul à la fureur des soldats, si Alexandre, touché de pitié d'une si horrible boucherie, ne leur eût défendu de continuer davantage."

Ensuite le trait le plus mémorable de la vie d'Alexandre est  
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la part qu'il prit à l'exaltation de Vespasien à l'Empire. Elle est racontée par les trois écrivains à la fois, Joseph, Tacite, et Suétone.

Le premier s'exprime en ces termes dans la traduction d'Arnaud d'Andilly. (Guerre des Juifs, liv. 4<sup>e</sup>. c. 38. Haverc. liv. 4. c. 10.)

“Vespasien, pour affermir son autorité, désirait se rendre maître d'Alexandrie. Il écrivit à Tibère Alexandre, qui en était gouverneur, que l'armée l'ayant élevé à l'Empire avec tant d'affection et tant d'ardeur qu'il lui avait été impossible de ne le pas accepter, il le choisissait pour l'aider à soutenir un si grand fardeau. Alexandre n'eut pas plus tôt reçu cette lettre, qu'il fit prêter serment aux légions, et à tout le peuple, au nom du nouvel Empereur, et tous deux s'y portèrent avec grande joie; parce que la manière dont Vespasien avait commandé dans le voisinage leur avait fait connaître sa vertu. Alexandre continua de même en tout le reste à se servir, pour le bien de l'Empire, du pouvoir qui lui était donné, et travailla à préparer toutes les choses nécessaires à la réception de ce Prince.”

Tacite, *Historiarum* lib. 1<sup>o</sup>, c. 11<sup>o</sup>. “Ægyptum regebat Tiberius Alexander, ejusdem nationis.” (à l'époque de la mort de Néron.)

Le même, *Histor.* lib. 2<sup>o</sup>. c. 74<sup>o</sup>. “At Vespasianus bellum, armaque, et procul vel juxta sitas vires, circumspectabat. Miles ipsi adeo paratus, ut præeuntem sacramentum, et fausta Vitellio omnia precantem, per silentium audierint. Muciani animus nec Vespasiano alienus, et in Titum pronior. Præfectus Ægypti, Ti. Alexander, consilia sociaverat.”

Ibid. lib. 2<sup>o</sup>. c. 79<sup>o</sup>. “Initium ferendi ad Vespasianum imperii Alexandriae cœptum, festinante Tiberio Alexandro, qui Kal. Jul. sacramento ejus legiones adegit. Isque primus principatus dies in posterum celebratus.”

Suetone, in *Vespasiano* c. 8<sup>o</sup>. “Tiberius Alexander, præfectus Ægypti, primus in verba Vespasiani legiones adegit Kalend. Julii, qui principatus dies in posterum observatus est.”

La dernière époque connue de la vie de Tibère Alexandre ne l'est que par Joseph, et se rapporte au siège de Jérusalem par Titus (liv. 5: c. 6. Haverc. liv. 5. c. 1. versus finem.)

“Pour remplacer les hommes que Vespasien avait fait passer en Italie, Titus se servit de deux mille hommes choisis dans l'armée d'Alexandrie qu'il avait amenés avec lui; trois mille autres venaient des garnisons de l'Euphrate, et Tibère Alexandre le suivait. C'était un homme d'un si grand mérite et si sage, qu'il tenait le premier rang entre ses amis. Il avait été

précédemment gouverneur d'Egypte, et fut jugé alors le plus propre à commander les troupes, comme ayant été le premier qui s'était déclaré pour l'empire à peine naissant de Vespasien, sans que l'incertitude des évènements de la fortune eût paru ébranler la fidélité ouverte avec laquelle il se rangea de son côté."

Enfin nous le voyons cité dans le courant du siècle. Liv. 5. c. 31. : "Titus faisait lui-même la première ronde, Τίτου· Alexandre la seconde, ceux qui commandaient les légions, la troisième."

Liv. 6. c. 24. : "Titus assembla ensuite les principaux chefs, savoir ; Tibère Alexandre, son lieutenant-général, &c. pour délibérer avec eux sur le parti qu'il devait prendre touchant le Temple . . . ."

Il paraît que dès le moment où il accompagna Titus, Alexandre avait été remplacé par Lupus dans la Préfecture d'Egypte, car l'on voit ce dernier chargé par Vespasien de fermer le Temple des Juifs à Heliopolis, 343 ans après sa fondation, peu après la ruine de celui de Jérusalem.

(2.) Διόπερ καὶ αὐτὸς, κ. τ. λ. . Cette conjonction complexe est employée par les meilleurs auteurs. Platon, Phædre, p. 232 § 15. διόπερ καὶ τῆς πρὸς ἄλλους τὸν ἐρώμενον συνουσίας ἀποτρέπουσι.

(3.) πραγματεύεσθαι τοὺς δυνατοὺς. Δυνατοὶ a ici un sens particulier, et signifie non les hommes puissans, mais ceux qui sont désignés, délégués pour une fonction ou une mission quelconque. C'est dans le même sens que l'emploie un écrivain contemporain, St. Luc, Act. Apostol. c. 25. initio : οἱ οὖν ἐν ὑμῖν, φησὶ, δυνατοὶ συγκαταβάντες, εἴ τι ἐστὶν ἐν τῷ ἀνδρὶ, κατηγορεῖτωσαν αὐτοῦ.

(4.) τὸ Πρακτόριον. Pignoratium, disent les anciens glossaires. Cette inscription nous apprend qu'on nommait ainsi la prison des débiteurs envers l'état ; ensorte que Saumaise s'est trompé en l'expliquant autrement, "coactorium pignoribus captis," de modo usurar. 556. L'étymologie de ce mot est prise de πράξις mis pour εἰσπραξις, contrainte ; comme nous l'avons vu quelques lignes plus haut. On lit dans une inscription Dorienne, Museum Veronense, p. 14. εἰ δὲ κα μὴ ποιῆται τὰ ποτιτεταγμένα . . . . πρακτὸς ἔστω ὑπὸ τῶν αἰρεθέντων ἀνδρῶν ὑπὸ τοῦ κοινοῦ κατ' ἐνεχυρασίαν κατὰ τὸς νόμος. qu'il soit saisissable.

(5.) Κελεύω οὖν ὅστις ἂν ἐνθάδε ἐπίτροπος . . . . κατέχεσθαι. La construction complète demande un pronom accusatif, qui se rapporte à l'infinitif κατέχεσθαι et aux autres infinitifs qui suivent, comme cela se trouve dans l'Œdipe Roi de Sophocle, v. 224 :

ὅστις ποθ' ὑμῶν Λάϊον τὸν Λαβδάκου  
κάτοιδεν ἀνδρὸς ἐκ τίνος διώλετο,  
τοῦτον κελεύω πάντα σημαίνειν ἐμοί.

ce qui m'avait donné l'idée de lire κελεύω τὸν ὅστις . . . mais l'ellipse du pronom dans cette construction n'est pas sans exemple. Thucydide, liv. 2. § 62. αὐχμημα μὲν γὰρ καὶ ἀπὸ ἀμαθίας εὐτυχούς καὶ δειλῶ τινὲ ἐγγίγνεται καταφρόνησις δὲ, ὃς ἂν καὶ γνώμη πιστεύῃ τῶν ἐναντίων προέχειν, sous-entendu τούτῳ. En Latin Térerence offre la même ellipse, Heautontimorumenos, prolog. v. 28. "Date crescendi copiam, novarum qui spectandi faciunt copiam," sous-entendu "iis."

(6.) ἐπίτροπος se dit en Latin Procurator, procureur de l'Empereur. C'était une classe de fonctionnaires destinés dans le principe à recueillir les revenus particuliers des Empereurs : les agens du domaine privé. Tacit. Annal. 4, 15. : "Procurator Asiæ Lucilius Capito, accusante provincia, causam dixit, magna cum adseveratione principis, non ~~se~~ jus nisi in servitia et pecunias familiares dedisse." A mesure que le domaine des Empereurs se confondit avec le trésor de l'état, on les voit chargés de recueillir les tributs publics. Dion Cassius, lib. 52. § 25. τὰς τε διοικήσεις τῶν χρημάτων τῶν τε τοῦ δήμου καὶ τῶν τῆς Ἀρχῆς λέγω . . . . . οἱ ἱππεῖς διαχειρίζεσσαν. Le même, 53, 15. τοὺς ἐπιτρόπους [οὕτω γὰρ τοὺς τὰς τε κοινὰς προσόδους ἐκλέγοντας καὶ προστεταγμένα σφίσιν ἀναλίσκοντας ὀνομάζουεν] ἐς πάντα ὁμοίως τὰ ἔθνη τάτε ἐαυτοῦ δὴ καὶ τοῦ δήμου, τοὺς μὲν ἐξ ἱππέων, τοὺς δὲ καὶ ἐκ τῶν ἀπελευθέρων, πέμπει. Je lis au lieu de ce texte la parenthèse : καὶ τὰς τεταγμένας σφίσιν ἐπ' ἀναλώσει οὕσας ὀνομάζουεν, ce qui veut dire : "le Prince envoie dans les provinces à sa nomination et dans celles à la nomination du peuple (c'est-à-dire du sénat) indifféremment des chevaliers et des affranchis, comme Procureurs, (c'est ainsi que nous nommons ceux qui sont chargés de la collecte des tributs publics aussi bien que des produits réservés pour la dépense particulière des Empereurs). Ces Procureurs exercent aussi par extension les attributions de gouverneurs dans les provinces au choix de l'Empereur." Voir les interprètes sur le liv. 1<sup>er</sup> du digeste tit. xix. de officio procuratoris Caesaris. Juste Lipse, Excursus ad Annal. Taciti libro 12<sup>o</sup>. c. 60<sup>o</sup>.

(7.) κατέχεσθαι αὐτοῦ τὸ ὄνομα.—qu'il se fasse donner par lui des garanties de son débit.

κατέχειν ὄνομα—sont deux termes de banque et de commerce d'argent ; l'un propre à la langue Grecque, et l'autre emprunté du Latin.

\* Examinons le premier : κατέχειν et κατέχεσθαι dans la langue

usurairer signifie l'action de donner au prêteur des garanties pour sureté de son remboursement. *Græci κρατεῖσθαι et κατέχεσθαι*, de his dicunt quæ a creditore hypothecæ titulo tenentur. Salmas. de modo usur. p. 498. V. ibidem p. 489 et 507.

Ces garanties étaient telles dans le droit Attique, que lorsque le débiteur avait laissé passer l'époque du remboursement sans s'acquitter, (ce qu'on exprimait par les mots *ὑπερήμερος, ὑπερημερία*,) le créancier avait le droit de se faire mettre en possession du gage soit mobilier soit immobilier. Le gage mobilier pouvait ordinairement se vendre, ou servir à son tour de gage au prêteur sans autre forme de procès, d'après les termes des contrats. Demosthènes contre Lacrite, p. 926. *καὶ παρέξουσιν τοῖς δανείσασιν τὴν ὑποθήκην ἀνέπαφον κρατεῖν, ὥς ἂν ἀπόδωσι τὸ γιγνόμενον ἀργύριον κατὰ τὴν συγγραφὴν· ἐὰν δὲ μὴ ἀπόδωσιν ἐν τῷ συγκαίμενῳ χρόνῳ τὰ ὑποκείμενα τοῖς δανείσασιν, ἐξέστω ὑποθεῖναι ἢ ἀποδόσθαι τῆς ὑπαρχούσης τιμῆς.*

Le gage immobilier pouvait également être livré à la possession du prêteur par une action judiciaire appelée *ἐμβατεία*, et le verbe qui l'exprimait *ἐμβατεύειν*. V. le Grand Etymolog. p. 334. Hesych. v. *ἐμβατεύειν. κατέχειν ἢ καρποῦσθαι χωρίον ἢ οἰκίαν*. V. Demosth. ad Apatur. p. 894. Le refus de remettre la jouissance des biens donnés en gage entraînait l'action dite *ἐξούλης δίκη*, Grand Etymolog. p. 348. *οἱ δίκην νικήσαντες ὥστε ἀπολαβεῖν χώραν ἢ οἰκίαν, ἔπειτα ἐμβατεύειν κωλυόμενοι, ἢ ἐμβατεύσαντες ἐξελαυνόμενοι δίκην εἰσάγουσι πρὸς ἐξελαύνοντας, ἢ οὐκ ἐώντας ἐμβατεύειν.*

La propre signification de *κατέχειν*, avoir en gage, est confirmée par la Loi 34. D. de pignoribus. *οἶδας γὰρ ἀκριβῶς ὅτι καὶ ἡ Ταβέρνα καὶ οἱ δοῦλοί μου οὐδένι κατέχονται ἢ σοι.*

Denys d'Halicarnasse, Antiq. Roman. lib. 6°. *τούτων οἰκίας μὴδένι ἐξεῖναι μῆτε κατέχειν μῆτε πωλεῖν.*

Après avoir indiqué la valeur commune de *κατέχειν* et de *κρατεῖν*, il est bon de faire connaître la nuance qui les distingue dans les écrivains classiques, et qui semble marquée dans l'inscription qui nous occupe, où l'on trouve un peu plus bas *μήτε ὀνόματος κατεσχημένου, μήτε ὑπαρχόντων κρατουμένων*; par où l'on voit que *κατέχειν* s'entend plus spécialement des gages manuels *ἐνέχυρα*, tandis que *κρατεῖν* se dit mieux des hypothèques de biens-fonds qui restent en la possession du débiteur inscrit *κατακώχημα, τὰ κατεσχημένα ἐνέχυρα* : ce qui se rend également par *Ἀρραβών*, arrhabo, pris pour des gages livrés, aussi bien que pour des arrhes. Ce même terme s'emploie pour les otages. Q. Claudii Annal. ap. Gellium, xv. 1. 2. "cum tantus arrhabo penes Samnites populi Romani esset." Terent. in Heaut. 3, 3.

43. "ea relictā huic arrhaboni est pro illo argento." Tacite, en parlant d'otages, a employé le mot *pignus*. Annal. l. xv. 28. "Tiberius Alexander, et Vivianus Annus in castra Tiridatis venēre honori ejus, ac ne metueret insidias tali pignore."

Phrynichus blâme l'emploi de ὑπάλλαγμα ἀντὶ τοῦ ἐνεχύρου : ce qui est cependant dans Aristote, et marque la transmission de main en main, et convient spécialement au verbe κατέχειν, tandis que κρατεῖν indique l'assurance d'objets immobiliers.

J'en viens au second mot, ὄνομα : c'est une pure traduction du Latin *nomen* dans le sens de dette ; emploi qui n'a rien d'inconvenant dans la bouche d'un Préfet Romain écrivant un décret au nom des Empereurs pour une province Romaine, soumise à la métropole et par conséquent à sa jurisprudence.

Parmi les manières de se constituer débiteur, la moins dure était celle qu'on appelait *nomen locum* de la part de l'emprunteur, et *nomen facere* de la part du prêteur. Phædre fab. 1, 16. "fraudator nomen cum locat sponso improbo." Sénèque de beneficiis initio lib. 1<sup>o</sup>. "nomina facturi diligenter in patrimonium et vasa debitoris inquirimus." Lib. 2<sup>o</sup>. c. 23<sup>o</sup>. "Quidam volunt nomina secum fieri nec interponi pararios nec signatores advocari." On trouve dans Cicéron de officiis, lib. 3<sup>o</sup>. § 14. "nomina facit," dans le sens de s'inscrire comme débiteur : voir les interprètes ; voir le même Cicéron contre Verres, l. 86. ad Diversos, vii. 23.

Cette façon de s'exprimer était due à l'inscription qu'on faisait sur le livre appelé Kalendarium de l'échéance des intérêts et du capital, qui avait lieu ordinairement au commencement d'un mois, tant du nom du débiteur que de la somme prêtée et des époques de remboursement. Au moyen de quoi la dette se trouvant accolée au nom du débiteur, l'un a été pris pour l'autre par métonymie. Asconius, "nomina : tituli debitorum." Il était plus difficile d'obtenir le paiement de ces créances que de celles constituées par un acte contradictoire authentique, chirographaire, ou devant témoins. Il y avait néanmoins une action propre à cette espèce, appelée *expensilatio*. La preuve de la dépense faite par la représentation des livres de compte. Aulugèle, liv. 14. c. 2. : "Probari debere pecuniam datam consuetis modis, expensilatione, mensæ rationibus."

(8.) ἢ προγράφειν ἵνα μὴδεὶς . . . συμβάλλῃ, ou publie que personne n'ait à contracter avec lui.

Cette interdiction était autorisée par le droit Romain. Voir la Loi X. D. de insularia : "De quo palam proscriptum fuerit, ne cum eo contrahatur."

(9.) ἐν αἷς ἔσθηκεν . . . que j'ai substitué à ἔστιν καὶ, par la raison

que ἱστῆμι en Grec, aussi bien que *stare* en Latin, marque le prix d'un échange. *Stare magno pretio*. V. Gronovius observ. lib. 8°. c. 17°. p. 586.

Ce passage tout entier, au reste, m'a paru le plus obscur de toute l'inscription. Les lacunes de la fin présentent des vides que font assez facilement remplir les mots conservés, l'ensemble de l'idée en étant claire. Ici c'est l'idée même qui n'est pas très facile à saisir. La réponse aux mêmes questions à la fin du paragraphe m'a donné le moyen de les développer avec plus de clarté, mais j'ignore si en cela je n'ai pas excédé les bornes du rôle d'interprète. • Toutefois je devais donner un sens à ce qui n'en présentait pas dans l'état actuel.

(10.) Flaccus, Postumus, Balbillus, et Vestinus sont quatre Préfets d'Égypte. Le premier, Flaccus Avillius, est bien connu par la persécution qu'il suscita aux Juifs d'Alexandrie, dont le Philon a donné le récit dans son livre contre Flaccus. Postumus, qui administrait sous Claude, n'est nommé par aucun historien, que je sache. Quant à Balbillus et à Vestinus, il en est autrement. Tacite, en parlant de la seconde année du règne de Néron, s'exprime ainsi, *Annalium lib. xiiii. c. 22.* "Præfectura annonæ fœnio Rufo, cura ludorum qui a Cæsare parabantur, Aruntio Stello, Ægyptus C. Balbillo permittuntur."

Le même C. Balbillus est cité avec éloge par Sénèque, lib. iv. *Natur. Quæstionum c. 2.* et Pline l'ancien, in præmio libri xix.

Vestinus n'est pas aussi clairement indiqué par le même auteur comme Préfet d'Égypte ; néanmoins il parle de deux Vestinus, entre lesquels il me paraît difficile de ne pas reconnaître le Préfet dont il est ici question. Le premier est Vestinus nommé Consul l'an de Rome 818, 65 de J. C. 11<sup>e</sup> du règne de Néron, qui fut tué dans l'année même, enlevé d'un festin qu'il donnait, par l'ordre de l'Empereur, et enveloppé dans la conspiration de Pison. Voir le 15<sup>e</sup> livre des Annales c. 48 et 69. Pour l'époque elle convient assez. En effet dix années étaient écoulées entre la magistrature de Balbillus et le consulat de Vestinus. Cet intervalle est suffisant pour que Vestinus ait pu succéder à Balbillus et parvenir au consulat, s'il avait été de rang à obtenir cette dignité. Mais cela ne me paraît nullement vraisemblable. Les Préfets et Procureurs de l'Empereur, dans les provinces dont le gouvernement le regardait particulièrement, étaient tout au plus des chevaliers Romains ; tel était Gallus le premier Préfet d'Égypte sous Auguste ; tel encore Tibère Alexandre qui nous occupe, de l'avènement de Tacite liv. 15. c. 28. Ces raisons me font donc penser que Vestinus le Consul

## 72 *Inscription du Voyage de Fr. Cailliou, &c.*

est différent du Préfet d'Égypte. Je croirais plutôt qu'on doit le retrouver dans L. Vestinus, chevalier Romain, dont parle Tacite, liv. 4 de son histoire, c. 53. : "Curam restituendi Capitoli in L. Vestinum (Vespasianus) confert, equestris ordinis virum, sed auctoritate famaque inter proceres." Ceci eut lieu à l'arrivée de Vespasien à Rome l'an 70 de J. C., 823 de la fondation, 15 ans après l'époque où Balbillus parvint à la Préfecture d'Égypte. Or, comme nous avons vu, en parlant de Tibère Alexandre, que ce n'était qu'après l'an 64 de J. C. que ce Préfet avait été nommé, et vraisemblablement est 66 ou 67, on peut en conclure que Balbillus, Vestinus, et Tibère Alexandre forment une suite non interrompue de Préfets d'Égypte ; et que quatre ans environ après la cessation de la magistrature du second, il fut chargé à Rome de la restauration du Capitole, à cause de son mérite personnel.

(10 bis.) Κλαύδιος ἔγραψε Ποστόμῳ ἀπολύων. C'est exemple que donna Claude de remettre les tributs arriérés fut imité depuis par les bons Empereurs à leur avènement. Ausonius in Gratianum Actione ad Gratianum Imp. sub finem edit. Tollianæ, p. 730. "Neque vero unum aliquod bonum uno die præstas, sed indulgentias sæculares per singula horarum momenta multiplicas, vel illud unum cujusmodi est de *Condonatis residuis tributorum* . . . Quis unquam imperatorum hoc provinciis suis, aut uberiore indulgentia dedit, aut certiore securitate prospexit, aut prudentia consultiore munivit ? Fecerat et Trajanus olim !" &c.

(11.) εἰς διαλογισμὸν δεύτερον. Le texte porte AON, que j'ai cru devoir lire BON, comme abbréviation de δεύτερον.

(12.) τοῦ πρὸς τῷ ἰδίῳ λόγῳ τεταγμένου. Cet emploi de la préposition πρὸς, suivie du datif après le verbe τάσσομαι, pour marquer l'inspection sur quelque chose, est confirmée par les bons auteurs. Polyb. 15, 27. ὁ δὲ Ἀγαθοκλῆς εὐθέως συνέταξε Νικοστράτῳ τῷ πρὸς τοῖς γράμμασι τεταγμένῳ.

(13.) Παρίστασθαι ὑπ' αὐτοῦ τὸν προσεισαγγείλαντα, au lieu de τὸν προσαγγείλαντα, qui n'a aucun sens d'accusation nécessaire ici. Ἡ εἰσαγγελία est une accusation pour les torts d'état : εἰσαγγελία κυρίως ἢ περὶ καινῶν ἢ δημοσίων ἀδικημάτων εἰσαγομένη εἰς τὸν νόμον ὑπὸ τῶν Πρυτανέων, περὶ ὧν διαβρῆδην μὲν οὐδὲν λέγουσιν οἱ νόμοι. Ibidem εἰσαγγελία ἐπὶ τῶν μεγάλων καὶ δημοσίων ἀδικημάτων γράφῃ δὲ ἐπὶ μικρῶν. Lexica Seguer, p. 244. Il faut donc lire celui qui accuse avec lui : dans le tems de cette inscription on avoit perdu la distinction primitive entre ces deux mots, εἰσαγγελία et γράφῃ.

(14.) καὶ καθόλου διαπεύσομαι τὸν Γνώμονα. Γνώμων est un terme de perception d'impôt. Lexica Seguer, p. 233. Γνώμων,

σύνταξις τις γραμμάτων καθ' ἣν τὰ τέλη πράττεσθαι χρὴ, τοὺς ἐκ τῆς ἀλλοδαπῆς εἰσκομίζοντας ὧν ἂν ἐκφέρωνται. Tarif, écrit d'après lequel on doit percevoir les taxes de la part de ceux qui ramènent des pays étrangers une partie des marchandises qui y ont été exportées. Ceci s'applique au port d'Athènes du tems florissant de cette république.

(15.) ἐνορθωσάμενος. Ce mot est si visiblement tracé, que, bien qu'il ne se trouve pas dans les dictionnaires, je n'ai pas cru devoir le remplacer par son synonyme, qui se lit partout ἐπανορθωσάμενος.

(16.) ὅσα οἷός τε ἦν, ἐπηνορθωσάμην. Le texte porte ὅσα οἷόν τε ἦν : mais la syntaxe veut impérieusement qu'on lise ou ὅσα οἷός γε, ou ὡς οἷόντε ἦν.

(17.) ἐώσας ἀγρία πρότερον, statim a principio. V. sur cet emploi de αὐτίκα, Hermann ad Viger. p. 393.

(18.) παραγράφειν, dans le sens de raturer les écritures, les altérer, est une expression des auteurs de cette époque. Aristide, T. 1<sup>er</sup>, p. 566, 16. δεῖν τὰ φανλὰ τῆς ἱστορίας παραγράφεσθαι. Polyb. lib. 9<sup>e</sup>, s. 31. Henry Valois sur Harpocration, p. 149. Schneider, Lexicon in voce.

(19.) μένειν γὰρ ὀφείλει τὰ ἐξ αἰῶνος αὐτῇ δίκαια. J'ai substitué αὐτῇ à αὐτῆς, que donne la gravure. 1<sup>o</sup>. Ce changement est très peu de chose, puisqu'il consiste dans la suppression des deux crochets du E, l'iota souscrit n'étant jamais omis dans l'inscription que nous donnons. 2<sup>o</sup>. La syntaxe en faisait une nécessité. Démosthènes contre Aristocrate, p. 635. ἵνα ὅτῳ ποτε τοῦδε γον ἐπράχθη, τοῦτ' αὖτ' ἐκ τῶν νόμων ὑπῆρχε δίκαια.

## GENERAL OBSERVATIONS

*On the Greek Drama.* BY T. CAMPBELL.

THE only plays that have come down to us are Athenian ; and Athens was the only Greek state where the Drama had at once a native growth and a fruitful diversity of branches.<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> The Sicilians (as we shall have occasion to notice by and by) had very ancient and valuable comedy : but of their claims to the invention of acted tragedy, there are no traces ; and their eagerness to get hold of



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Rousseau imagined, because the Spartans had a very ancient theatre, that they must also have had regular tragedies and comedies. But the Greek word *theatron* was often applied to places where merely vocal and musical contests were celebrated; and there is not a shadow of evidence that a single play was ever invented by the gloomy genius of Sparta.

The word *drama*, however, is not of Attic, but of Doric derivation. And if the generic term for acted plays came from a dialect foreign to the Athenians, it may naturally be asked, how we can assign to them the first invention of acting. Our answer is, that the Doric Greeks must have primitively applied the word *drama* to a species of poetry which was not, in our sense of the term, dramatic; and that the consenting voice of antiquity ascribes the first introduction of a player, distinct from a chorus of singers, to Thespis of Attica. There are no proofs, it is true, that Thespis's plays were tragic in our acceptation of the term; but whatever they were, they formed the first departure from mere choral performances, and, consequently, the most decisive step that was necessary to change lyric poetry into what we call a drama.

\* It comes, then, to be a second question, whether there was any such thing as poetry called Tragedy in Greece, anterior to the Thespian or Attic drama. Bentley insisted, that neither the word nor the thing existed in Greece before Thespis; and he was supposed to have set the question for ever at rest, in his Dissertation on the Epistles of Phalaris. With immense acumen and erudition, he faced the opposite assertions of Themistius and Suidas, and appeared even successfully to explain away the passages in Herodotus and Plato which allude to tragedies of remote antiquity. The father of History says, that the Sicyonians honored the memory of Adrastus by commemorating his misfortunes in tragic choruses; and a speaker in one of the Platonic dialogues alludes to Epigenes as a tragedian long anterior to Thespis. But Bentley contended that Herodotus had applied the term tragedy to the Sicyonian choruses by a mere prolepsis of speech (a gentler term for anachronism); and that

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even passages of the Attic tragic drama from their prisoners, looks as if they had not been wealthy themselves in that kind of poetry. It is true that their tyrant Dionysius composed what were called tragedies, and sent his friend Philoxenus to the quarries for not liking them. But I am with Genelli, who, in his work on the Theatre of Athens, suspects Dionysius to have been, like his over-candid friend Philoxenus, only a dithyrambic poet.

Plato had conjured up the phantom predecessors of Thespis only in the spirit of paradox. That there was no tragedy in Greece earlier than the Athenian, which united a stage actor and a chorus, is now admitted on all hands; and in the main points of his controversy respecting Phalaris, there is no question that the prince of critics was victorious. In fact, the dispute about the age of tragedy, which has been since revived, regards a name rather than a thing: but that the Greeks gave that name to a simple choral poem of older origin than the Attic drama, has been since insisted on by men of abler research than Boyle, and from a document which Bentley himself could not have foreseen.

By the Orchomenian inscriptions, so ably commented on by Professor Büchler of Berlin, it is made clearly apparent that the Dorians had an older and simpler tragedy, in which no (*ὑποκριτής*, or) player distinct from the chorus performed, and that they had also a newer drama, evidently borrowed from Athens, which is mentioned in those inscriptions, conjointly with an actor. Thus Doric and Æolic tragedy was nothing more than the song of a dancing chorus. It was merely a lyrical poem; yet still it was expressive of passion, and probably imitative of commemorated actions. Hence the Dorians might have called it an acted poem, and thus the Doric etymology of the word drama is reconcileable with the fact, that an Athenian, by adding the stage to the chorus ground, first laid the foundation of what we call acting.

The car of Thespis was the first stage that separated the solitary player from the chorus. Thespis of Icaria, a parish of Athens, was the contemporary of Solon and Pisistratus, and the favorite of the latter. Horace's mention of his ambulant car, and of the faces of his troop being smeared with wince-lees, has led to a contemptuous modern idea of him, that he was a mere strolling mountebank. It is extremely improbable, however, that he plied his histrionic art, rude as it might be, under humiliating circumstances. Whatever his plays were, he was the leader of a great religious festivity; and the equipment of festive choruses was at a very ancient period, and certainly not much later than Thespis's time, an office, in Athens, appointed by the magistracy, and honorable, but expensive to the ambitious undertaker. The use of chariots by those who conducted festivals, was as old among the Greeks as the Homeric manners, and was a mark of dignity, as well as a means of superintendence. The meanness of Thespis's prize, though it was only a goat and a basket of figs, argues only that his vocation was more honorary

than lucrative. In vague terms we are told, that his car was itinerant; but, as the high altar of Bacchus was at Athens, Thespis's journeys must have been made principally thither from Icaria; and they are rather to be compared to an old Catholic pilgrimage, than to the strollings of a showman in quest of bread, and dependent on chance and charity. How merry people could be in Catholic pilgrimages has been shown by our own Chaucer; and Thespis's merriment, at the head of his troop, was in no way at variance with Pagan notions of religion. Still it is wonderful, that tragedy, the noblest branch of poetry, should have eventually sprung from a source in which there was evidently intermingled much of the ludicrous.

The Dithyrambus,<sup>1</sup> a name applied to the earliest festive poetry in honor of Bacchus, and, by extension of meaning, to the whole festival, was confessedly the origin of tragic poetry. But there were three kinds of choruses, that sang, and accompanied with dancing, the poem called Dithyrambus. There was a chorus of men, and another of boys; for contending in which, each of the ten tribes of Attica maintained and educated fifty performers. An ox, an animal of no mean value in Attica, was the prize of the manly chorus; and it was to this that Pindar must have alluded, when he mentions the Dithyrambus by an epithet significant of its reward.<sup>2</sup> The youthful chorus had the prize of a tripod. The third, or Satyr choir, had the humble prize already mentioned; and its name indicates, that its performers personated the fauns, or satyrs, in immediate attendance on Bacchus. Yet this was the chorus which Thespis led, and on which he founded dramatic art, by the introduction of an episodical speaker. It is nothing wonderful that the main testimony of tradition (for he left no works, and, in all probability, never wrote any) represents him as a gay performer: but the striking phenomenon is, to find the song of the goat (such is the Greek meaning of the word tragedy) become a touching and sublime composition in the hands of his near successors. Of those successors, the first was Phrynicus, who, besides depart-

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<sup>1</sup> All the alleged derivations of the term Dithyrambus are strained and unsatisfactory, not even excepting that one which may nevertheless, for lack of a better, be reckoned the most probable, namely, from the words *Δις θεῶν*; *ἀμείβων*, in allusion to the double birth of the God, or of his having twice entered the gates of life.

<sup>2</sup> Ταῖς Διωνύσεια πύθιν ἱξίφρανας  
Σὺν βοηλάτῃ χάριτις  
Διθυράμβῳ.—Pindar; Olymp. 13.

ing from Bacchic mythology, inventing masks, introducing female characters, and making a changing relief in the metre of tragedy, wrought the higher improvement of raising it to pathos, and of rendering it tragic in our sense of the word. He was, according to Aristophanes, a sweet and affecting poet; and when the Athenians fined him, it was only for awakening their sensibility too strongly on a subject of public calamity; namely, the capture of Miletus.

Chœrilus is the first tragic poet whose works are quoted as having been written, and for whom the Athenians constructed a theatre. It was of wood, and fell in pieces during the acting of one of the works of his contemporaries. Pratinas founded the Satyric drama.<sup>1</sup> That third branch of the Greek drama took its name, not from satirical contents, but from the Satyrs who performed in it, and, though comic, was distinguished from proper comedy by its subjects being mythological. Its era, as a separate drama, occurs exactly at the time at which we should expect it, namely, when tragedy began to assume a serious interest, with which the intermixture of a choir of Satyrs would have been incongruous. There can be little doubt, that those gentry and Silenus had figured from time immemorial in the Bacchic orgies, which, with their bacchanals, fauns, priests, and forms of infuriated as well as joyous superstition, must have presented a character like that of the tiger which bore the god, capriciously blending the terrible and the frolicsome. But, when those orgies became allied with maturer art, and when the graver elements of the drama refined and separated from the ludicrous, the Satyr attendants of the god would be found no way conducive to the dignity of the Tragic Muse, and probably increased her inclination to historical subjects, unconnected with Bacchic mythology. Yet still the Satyrs were old favorites of the people, and, though the tragic poets could dispense with their services, they were bound to remember them by respect for Bacchus and the popular opinion. They therefore allotted them a separate drama, where they might sport by themselves: nor did the greatest poets disdain to write those merry mythological afterpieces, one of which was enacted after each of their Trilogies, or suites of tragedies, and formed a total that was called a Tetralogy.

All that was done by the other patriarchs of the Greek stage was, however, little in comparison with what was effected by

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Πρῶτος ἔγραψε Σατύρους, says Suidas, voce Pratinas.

**Æschylus.** The fact of his having first brought a second actor on the stage, is contradicted on no authority that can be put in competition with the general assertion of antiquity.<sup>1</sup> It is true that Phrynicus was certainly his predecessor, and so also in all probability was Chœrilus. Yet, even the scholar of Thespis lived, and got the prize in poetry, after Æschylus had commenced his career : and it is difficult to suppose, that he did not adopt the improvement invented by his junior, and depart from the old monology of the stage. But the great improvement which Æschylus brought, was to stamp the drama with the strength and solemnity of his own mind. Ancient criticism alludes even contemptuously to the excessive mixture of dancing in Phrynicus's plays; but to harmonize with the grandeur of Æschylus's conceptions, the orchestra movements must have been grave and graceful. In fine, when we look to his influence on the stage, both as to its spirit and exterior magnificence, we cannot but call him its proper founlder : nor does it detract from our idea of his originality to conceive, that his genius was happy in the period at which it burst on the world. His contemporary Pindar brought lyric poetry to perfection. Like him, Æschylus was a poet of concentrated fire, and bold in his grasp of imagery. But to have been merely a lyric poet like Pindar, would have been at best to have divided the palm with him. There was a new path opened to inventive excellence, namely, in the junction of old Dithyrambic tragedy and stage-acting, and Æschylus boldly made it his own. It was his fortune to write under the star of his country's prosperity,—and when the sister arts, though not risen to all their perfection, were yet mature enough to apparel and adorn the Muse of Poetry. There is not a doubt that perspective painting was understood at that period; for Vitruvius expressly mentions Agatharchus as the contemporary of Æschylus, as the contriver of scenery, and as a writer on the subject of perspective.

Æschylus, Sophocles, and Euripides, completed Attic tragedy, which was thus, in the fair meaning of terms, an invention of the Athenians; and to deny them this honor, on the score of there being an older Doric tragedy, would be to exact from their drama a degree of originality, to which no national literature on earth can make any pretensions. It is true that the

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<sup>1</sup> The only contradiction of this general assertion that I know of, is found in Philostratus's Life of Apollonius of Tyana; but this opinion is comparatively modern.

Athenians could not have been uninfluenced by the past and contemporaneous poetry of Greece; and Sophocles and Euripides may be sometimes found looking up to the soarings of the Theban eagle. The Dithyrambus itself, the fountain of Attic tragedy, was of foreign invention, and as old as Archilochus. The very verse of their tragedy was not their own; for the dancing Trochaic, the speech-like and natural Iambic metre, and the Anapæstic which formed the transitions between them, were forms of verse invented by the Ionians. Even their chorus moved to foreign music: its strophe to the spirited Doric, its antistrophe to the pompous Phrygian, and its epode to the impassioned Lydian harmony. Nor did their stage heroes disdain to wear the Cretan buskin and the Persian girdle. Yet, if all these circumstances can be called debts of the Attic Tragic Muse, it must be owned that she repaid them to the world with usury.

The temple of Bacchus was the first established theatre of the Attic drama, and a thymele, or altar, in its orchestra, continued to be even occasionally used for sacrifice; but the Bacchic songs and dances which gave birth to dramatic art, were long anterior to any theatre, and must have been coeval with the worship of the god in Greece. The general name for Bacchic poetry was Dithyrambus; but the word, in its stricter sense, meant the hymn of the Cyclic chorus, who danced round the altar of sacrifice, whilst the Phallic strains were sung by columns of worshippers in procession to and from the temple. Both were accompanied by flutes, and both were of a revelling spirit; but the Dithyrambus was mythological, whilst the Phallic songs were full of ribaldry and personal ridicule. The former poetry was chiefly appropriated to that high festival of the Nysæan Bacchus, which was celebrated in the month Anthesterion, which began in the middle of our February, when the Athenian Queen, or Archon's wife, attended by fourteen illustrious dames, presided at the mysteries, and personated the bride of the god. The latter songs took their names from the Phallus, that was paraded at the city festival, held a month later, in honor of the younger Bacchus. Virgins accompanied that ceremony, carrying fruits in golden baskets; but neither the statue nor the songs much accorded with our notions of virgin delicacy. From these Phallic canticles, Aristotle deduces Attic Comedy. On the other hand, he ascribes the origin of Tragedy to the Dithyrambus, a great branch of Greek lyric poetry, apparently coinciding in several traits with that of the

odes of Pindar. It had the same division into choral parts, and was partly adapted to the same description of harmonies.

Comedy came later than Tragedy on the Attic stage; and it is an interesting fact in the history of Sicily, that that island carries off the palm from Athens herself, as to the prior production of the gayer drama: for the Sicilian Epicharmus, a contemporary of Æschylus, was the first writer of regular comedy. With Epicharmus's reputation; though his writings are lost, all to a few fragments, it would be in vain to compare that of Susurion, or of the other old Attic improvisatori. But still, in the works of Aristophanes, Athens had an original comedy, as native and characteristic as national comedy could be. Its spirit has an Athenian hardness, that could not have been caught from abroad. No doubt, it is probable, when the Athenians lost their liberty, and when their new comic writers were obliged to be unpersonal and unpolitical, that they would look back to, and refine on, the Sicilian school. At that later epoch, the stage pleantry of Athens became such as we may conceive to have suited the taste of the court of Syracuse, and of the aristocracy of Rome. But the older Attic comedy cannot be suspected of having studied foreign exemplars. If Epicharmus was imitated by Plautus, he could have been no model for the bold and allegorical Aristophanes, whose comedy stands unique in the drama. It would have shook to pieces any other frame of society than that of democratical Athens, and could have flourished only in the widest atmosphere of Freedom.

Attic tragedy, as we have seen, was lyrical in its origin, and it continued to retain its chorus or lyrical part; though Euripides, the third great master of tragic art, seems to have found the chorus a burthensome appendage. Euripides had evidently more modern-like conceptions of tragic interest than his predecessors. He deduces pitiable and terrible situations, not so much, as Æschylus and Sophocles did, from destiny warring on human will, as from the direct agency of human passions. Unable, however, to get rid of the chorus, he left a drama less perfect, with relation to its kind, than that of Sophocles, who blended and balanced the choral and stage parts of his pieces into perfect harmony.

It must fairly be acknowledged, that if we dip into Greek tragedy, expecting to find that varied and flexible expression of nature which belongs to the best genius of our own stage, we shall be disappointed. The Greeks employed more resources of art to affect the imagination in the drama than we do: they

employed not only the poetry of thought and imagery, but the expressiveness of vocal and instrumental melody,—of rhythmically measured motion and gesticulation; and in their masks we may fairly say that they introduced the poetry of sculpture. Where dramatic language was thus to be harmonized with so many impressions on the senses, some sacrifice of its freedom and fulness in the developement of human nature was to be expected; and, accordingly, it is not so minutely illustrative of passion and character as our own stage. Greek tragedy studied to produce ideal and general impressions of grace and grandeur. I am far from thinking that Augustus Schlegel is right in denying it to have been any thing analogous to the opera; for, if we exchange harmony for melody, the two entertainments coincide at least in musical luxury. But I admire the justice of his remark, that we are not to confound the idealism of the Greek stage with vagueness in the conception of character, for its personages have a remarkably simple intelligibility. But the individuality of life was so far from imitated, that the actors' features were not shown. To have seen a familiar face representing a god or a hero, would have broken the spectator's illusion that he was contemplating the ideal picture of mythology; and the masks were accordingly designated by general classes, according to the youth, or age, or sex, or rank of life which they represented. The form of godlike and heroic characters was also elevated by the buskin, and artificially enlarged according to the height, a process which we can conceive to have been gracefully effected only by a people so exquisitely skilled as the Greeks were in sculpture and human proportion. Thus ideal in its conceptions, colossal in its scale of exhibition, and religious in its spirit, Athenian tragedy was, comparatively with ours, more a feast to the imagination, than a mirror held up to nature. The choral parts are apt to tire us by interrupting the dramatic with advices, consolations, and reflections. But the fancy of the Greek mind listened to them, entranced by native melodies, by symmetrical movements, and by imposing forms. Though the dramatic plot was simpler than ours, it had still terrific situations, and electrifying bursts of passion; and though the lights and shades of human character were not minutely marked, yet its main and simple shape was distinctly traced, flowing into outlines of strength and majesty. I long to illustrate these truths by descriptive references to particular tragedies; yet it will be necessary to crave patience for a few farther explanatory details.

The Greek theatre was not, as with us, a daily entertain-  
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ment, but was opened only for some days during the Dionysiac city and country festivals. During the grand Anthesterian festival, it appears that neither tragedy nor comedy was performed, though the Dithyrambus, as has been already mentioned, belonged to that solemnity. The theatre opened in the morning; the spectators brought their cushions, and even refreshments, along with them; and plays were acted all day long, each trilogy, or suite of three tragedies, being followed by a satiric drama or farce, till the five judges awarded the prize to the successful candidate. Every competitor, before bringing forward his pieces, had first of all to submit them to the Archon; if he and his assessors judged them worthy of entering the lists, a chorus was awarded to them at the public expense, and the people pitched upon the rich citizen who was to defray the expense of the choral performers. Nor did the trouble of the author end with composing his play; he had to instruct the stage and orchestra players in their rehearsals, and frequently himself took a part in the representation. It was held derogatory to no man's dignity to appear on the stage of Athens; and she counted among her play-writers, not merely literary men, but public functionaries and commanders of armies. From this ambition and contest arose the immense literary wealth of the Attic stage. It ultimately counted 250 tragedies of the first class, 500 of the second, and an equal number of comedies. Of all that wealth what a wreck now only remains! It is true we have some of the works of those writers who are acknowledged to have been the master-dramatists; but the Greek stage teaches us no moral more impressively than the perishableness of human glory, from the records of its own devastation.

It is now generally admitted that the grand or Dionysiac theatre of Athens stood on the south-eastern angle of the hill of the Acropolis; and that Stuart was mistaken when he thought he had discovered its ruins in those which are now judged to have belonged to the Odeion of Herodes. That the former place was the site of the Dionysiac theatre, is strongly attested by the choragic monuments still existing in that quarter; and a statue of Bacchus, which once adorned a small temple in the vicinity of the theatre, is now placed in the British Museum. The hollow in the slope of the hill still indicates a place where the seats of the spectators must have been excavated. It was the custom of the Greeks to build their theatres on the side of a hill, not, as a refined speculator has imagined, for the purpose of commanding a view of fine rural scenery, since the height of

the stage wall must have shut out the prospect beyond it from one half of the spectators, but for saving the subconstruction of seats, as the ground thus facilitated their being raised in ascending semicircles. Though the seats, however, rose on a hollow slope, it is impossible to imagine the orchestra, the dromos, and the stage, with its flanking walls, to have been situated any where but on even ground at the bottom. If we may believe Plato, the Dionysiac theatre could contain thirty thousand spectators, so that its diameter could not have been much less than four hundred and fifty feet. It is unnecessary to say, that, with such dimensions, it was uncovered above; nor had the Greeks recourse, like the Romans, to temporary awnings. When showers came on, they had a double portico behind the scenes, to which they could retire. That Eumenic portico, as it was called, had an open walk in the midst of it, embellished with trees or shrubbery, and was the rehearsal-ground of the chorus. The day-light and open air, instead of our covered and candle-light system of acting, were indispensable for exhibitions intended to animate a whole people.

As only the scantiest vestiges of that mighty theatre remain, the moderns have been obliged to compile their conceptions of it chiefly from Vitruvius and Julius Pollux, and from the traces of other old theatres which are supposed to have been built upon the same model. Among the works on this subject, I am not aware that Mr. Genelli's has been surpassed by any other in elaborate research or in knowledge of architecture. I quote his name, however, wishing only to refer generally to his authority, and not intending to descend minutely into his architectural disquisitions.

In sketching my conception of the Greek theatre, I shall begin with its highest ground, or that which was farthest from the stage. The entire outline of the building, as it lay on the hollow of a hill, and on a portion of the plain ground below, must have been that of a semicircle with its arch upwards, joined to a pretty broad parallelogram at its basis. Between the apex of the semicircle and the rocks of the Acropolis above it, it is scarcely conceivable but that some communication was opened; yet it must have been very narrow, in order to prevent the escape of sound from below. The main entrances to the theatre were at the opposite ends of the parallelogram below the spectators' semicircle, or at the right and left extremities of the Dromos, or course, which ran in front of the stage and its flanking walls. The spectators' or upper part of the theatre was inclosed by a massive semicircular wall, and a portico within it,

which served as a station for the servants attending their masters to the play, and also as another lounging-place for the spectators, independent of the garden portico behind the stage buildings, which has been already mentioned. Inside of that wall and portico the benches descended (for we suppose ourselves looking down upon the stage) in concentric semicircles, which diminished as they approached and embraced the protruding crescent of the orchestra. The curvature of the seat-rows thus inclined the faces of all the spectators towards the centre of the building, so that the terminating seats on the right and left were duly opposite to each other, like those of our boxes nearest the stage. The entire amphitheatre of seats was divided into belts or stripes by passages sweeping round them in profile, and again into wedge-like masses by flights of steps that radiated upwards from the lowest to the highest benches. Twelve feet lower than the lowest benches, yet still projecting into their convexity, came the crescent of the flat orchestra, which was never occupied by any spectators. In the middle of the basis-line of that orchestral crescent was the Thymele, a slight square elevation with steps, and a platform, which was the rallying point of the chorus. Around this thymele the dances of the chorus described a small circle, the one half of which was within the orchestral crescent towards the spectators, the other behind the thymele, and stretching nearly to the front stage. A part of the orchestra-ground therefore entered into the dromos. After inclosing the spectators and the interior orchestral crescent in one vast semicircle, the walls of the theatre ceased to describe a curve, and ran on straight to join the right and left extremities of the Paraskenia, or flanking buildings of the stage; of course they thus formed the two ends of the Dromos, and the continuity of their masonry was interrupted only by the two grand and opposite entrances to the theatre. Those entrances, it is clear from Vitruvius, were covered above. The stage ground, with its flanks, or Paraskenia, formed a line as broad as the amphitheatre of spectators; but the stage itself was a trifle narrower than the orchestra, to which it was duly opposite. The level of the stage was the same as that of the lowest benches, consequently as many feet higher than the orchestra; but the whole wall, of the stage ground rose to the same height as the wall on the outside of the highest benches. To return to the stage, it was connected with the orchestra by stairs; for though the choral and stage performers had a generally distinct locality, it is evident that there was a connexion in acting between the orchestra and the stage. The stage itself was two-fold. One stage,

called the *Logeion*, projected beyond the *paraskenia*, and, being meant merely for declamation, was constructed of wood, the better to reverberate the voice. Behind it, there was a chasm for holding the roll of the curtain; for that disguise, though it was seldom used, was drawn upwards by the Greeks, and not downwards, as by us. Immediately behind the *Logeion*, lay the *Proskenion*, or proper stage, which, having often heavy plastic scenery to support, was made of stone. From the building behind, there were three entrances to the stage, and the rank of the characters was marked by the door from which they entered: the central and most superb one being allotted to royalty. A hall in the first floor of the stage-house contained the actors, whilst they stood ready to enter on their parts, and their dressing-rooms lay at its extremities. The back of the stage, as has been just mentioned, was not a mere wall, but a house of considerable height; and in like manner, its flanks were buildings of several stories, in the apartments of which, nearest to the stage, were kept the machines for moving its scenery. But, as the building behind was insufficient of itself to indicate the locality of the piece, there was a line of decorations in front of it, which properly constituted the scene. Those decorations were either plastic imitations of objects, chiefly in wood, or paintings on canvass and boards. The under decorations were plastic, the upper were flat pictures. The scenery, both on the sides and in the middle, was shifted by machines, which are minutely discussed by Genelli, but which it would be foreign to my purpose to describe. In general the Greek plays themselves show that there could not have been many changes of scene, and that the curtain was seldom necessary. But from the known fact, that the Greeks understood perspective, and from their anxiety to impress the senses, we may believe that the scenic effect of their stage was highly imposing. If Genelli be right, they spared not even the introduction of natural trees to adorn the landscape of *Œdipus Coloneus*.

Almost every device which is known to the modern stage, was practised by the Greeks; and the dimensions, at least, of their theatres were favorable to illusion. Their *Theologeion*, or place of the conference of the gods, must have been an occasional scaffold, issuing from near the top of the stage-building, and surrounded with a picture of clouds. Infernal spirits and phantoms ascended from the *Charonic* steps at the extremity of the orchestra furthest from the stage, and beneath the lowest seats of the spectators. By our sceptical imaginations, the impression made on a superstitious people by such representations, can

be but faintly estimated; yet even a modern fancy must be torpid, that, in reading Æschylus, is not electrified by the ghost of Clytemnestra rushing in to awaken the Eumenides; and the grandeur of terror in spectral agency was certainly never made more perfect, than where that poet invokes "the slumbering Furies, and the sleepless dead."

The audience themselves must have formed no unimposing appearance. Of the place for myriads, the foremost belonged to the archons, the senate, the generals, and the high-priesthood of the state. Strangers were admitted during one of the festivals, and had their allotted seats. The knights had their station apart; and all the free citizens arranged themselves according to their tribes. The place for the youth was called the Ephobikon; and the women had distinct seats, though opinion, more than law, seems to have kept the more respectable class of them from the theatre.

I shall proceed in a subsequent number, to the consideration of the Greek plays themselves. For the dryness of the above details I have no apology to make, but their important connexion with the more animating subject that is to come.

[From the New Monthly Magazine.]

## SOME REMARKS ON THE VALUE OF ROMAN TRAGEDY.

No. IV.—[Continued from No. LXIV.]

WE have closed our remarks on the first period of Roman Tragedy, with a careful, and, as we hope, exact consideration of all the circumstances which operated on its rise and progressive developement. Before we proceed to make some remarks on its national periods, we shall pause a few moments, to discuss the following questions: What influence had tragedy (and we speak of its first period, most usually styled, the *ancient* tragedy,) on the nation and the culture of the Romans? and: In what degree became it national? These questions cannot be answered, in treating of the dramatic achievements of a nation; and the position of Addison, "that a good tragedy is the noblest production of human nature,"<sup>2</sup> be true, (and we doubt not that it is,) it has this pre-eminence only in proportion as it is not, like other branches of poetry, confined within certain limits,

but belongs to the whole range of the fine arts, and becomes the property of the nation. With the Romans, that question is of particular importance; for if we find not too harsh the epithet of "half civilized," which a distinguished connoisseur of antiquity<sup>1</sup> applies to the Romans, it is because at Rome the classes, cultivated by Greek literature, or by a literature planted from Greece on Roman soil, were, in a particular degree, distinguished from the mass of the nation. The question is therefore to be divided into two distinct ones: first, What influence had the ancient tragedy on the educated classes, and on the arts and sciences, which were their property? secondly, What influence had it on the mass of the nation?

We have already, in our former observations, pointed out the high interest, which all the judicious and candid literati took in the dramatic performances of their nation, and how much they valued them, as precious treasures of literature and language, not only in earlier times, but even at a later period. Not to repeat the more known authorities, above mentioned, we will cite some less known, but not, on that account, less remarkable. Vitruvius (l. IX. præf.) says: "*Qui litterarum jucunditatibus instructas habent mentes, non possunt non in suis pectoribus habere, sicuti deorum, sic et Ennii poetæ simulacrum. Attii autem carminibus qui studiose delectantur, non modo verborum virtutes, sed etiam figuram ejus videntur secum habere præsentem.*" Columella, præf. T. I. "*An Latine musæ non solos adytis suis Attium et Virgilium recepere, sed eorum et proximis et procul a secundis sacras concessere sedes.*" Fronto (Op. ed. Med. p. 176.) writes to Antoninus: "*Mox ut te studium legendi incessisset, aut te Plauto expolires, aut Attio expleres, aut Lucretio delinires, aut Ennio incenderes.*" With this general estimate of their merits, coincides the attention and friendship, which distinguished tragic poets enjoyed from the greatest statesmen and generals at Rome. The ties of friendship, which connected Ennius and Scipio, Pacuvius and Lælius, Attius and D. Brutus, added to the glory of both the statesmen and poets.

We may suppose, that the influence of tragedies on the formation of the Roman language, cannot but have been very considerable; and the inquiries of the Grammarians, Lexicographers, and Archæologists, agree with this supposition. It appears from these inquiries, not only how materially the tragedians formed

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<sup>1</sup> Mr. Brougham in his Inaugural Discourse.

the written language, but also that a great number of words, phrases, and sentences, passed over into the common language. Some intimations concerning this point are also given by ancient writers. Besides the passages just mentioned from Fronto and Vitruvius, and some which were cited in the former part of our remarks, those of Quintilian l. I. 7, 14., and of Horace, ad Pis. v. 51, sqq. are worthy of our attention. We refer the inquisitive reader to Osannus, *Annal. Crit.* p. 10, sqq. where this subject is more fully explained. From the high value set on the ancient tragedy at later times also, by all who possessed a solid knowledge of Roman literature, it may be further concluded, that these productions, far more than the earlier historical works, known to very few persons, contributed to preserve the study of the ancient Roman language. This assertion is also confirmed by several striking passages. See Cic. *Tuscul.* III. 9. *orat.* LS. II. 12. *Quint.* II. 5. 21. VIII. 3, 31.

The influence of tragedy on other branches of poetry, as well as on the finest works in prose, has been, generally, evinced long ago by learned inquirers of classic literature, though, in particulars, concerning diction as well as matter, this research is deprived of an accurate guidance, since we are too much in want of commentators. Horace, however, professes how much he is indebted to the study of the tragedians, *Ep.* II. 1, 60. With respect to Virgil, Heyne has demonstrated, that the Latin imitations of Greek tragedies have greatly contributed to shape and adorn his style, (*Proem. Æneidos*); and we are informed so by Macrobius. More obvious, though doubtless less intimate and penetrating, is the said influence on the literature in prose. It is most striking in the philosophical works, and epistles of Cicero. We therefore willingly subscribe to the remark of Heinrich, (*de Duloreshé Pœ.*) "multum eam in partem valet, ut, quam familiariter eruditiores maxime Romani hæc litterarum genere usi sint, cognoscatur, et multum venustatis habet studium, quod cernitur in Cicerone, veteris tragoediæ." This study appears, not only from distinct verses, scattered in his works, to ornament, and, as it were, to recommend and illustrate his argument, but also from innumerable sentences and expressions of the tragedians, interwoven and welded with the text, as has been clearly ascertained by the interpreters in many passages, and probably conjectured in others, although we cannot approve the attempts to restore every where the original rhythmus; we believe, on the contrary, that Cicero, Varro, and others, have, by their assiduous intercourse with the tragedians, so stored their

minds with the treasures of their compositions, that they often unwittingly used their sentences and expressions.

That Roman tragedy has also operated on the style, as well as on the whole arrangement of the most eminent historical works, particularly those of Livy and Tacitus, can, we think, be doubted by no one who has studied the peculiarities of these historians. We must here be satisfied with this general assertion, and refer, for Livy, to Meierotto, "*de Titi Livii arte narrandi et artificio historico*, Berol." 1798; and, for Tacitus, to the admirable remarks of Crollius and others.<sup>1</sup>

More conspicuous, however, was this influence on eloquence. We have already observed, that both the Greeks and Romans admitted an internal affinity between eloquence and tragedy, (Plato *Gorg.* §. 124. *Arist. Probl.* XIX. 15. *Cic. de Or.* III, 8. *Brut.* 55. *Quint.* I. 8, 11. and *Herenn.* I. 10, 11. II. 19.) The connexion between tragedy and oratorical compositions was, however, far more intimate with the Romans than with the Greeks. Not to repeat our former remarks on the discipline with which orators were trained up, we shall confine ourselves to some few obvious observations: Quintilian says, (I. 8, 11.) "*Præcipue quidem apud Ciceronem, frequenter tamen apud Asinium etiam et cæteros, qui sunt proximi, vidimus Ennii, Attii, Pacuvii, Lucili, Terentii, Cæcili et aliorum inseri versus, summa non eruditionis modo gratia, sed etiam jucunditatis, cum poetis voluptatibus aures a fortiori asperitate respirent.*" Conf. *dial. de corr. el.* c. 20. This remark of Quintilian is confirmed by a great many passages of Cicero. He either obviously refers to some tragedy, or even names the poet, v. c. *pro Mil.* c. 3. (of Popma ad Varr. *L. L.* VI.); *pro Cæl.* 7. *Phil.* II. 27. *pro Rosc. Am.* c. 32; *pro Plancio*, c. 24; *pro Sextio*, c. 48; *pro Balbo*, c. 16; *coll. de off.* I. 16; or the origin of such passages from tragedies, appears from the testi-

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<sup>1</sup> Every one who is but moderately acquainted with classic antiquity, will find the same difference between the historical compositions of Rome and Greece, which subsists between the oratorical works of these nations. The noble simplicity, the chaste, austere, and august character of the Greek historians, is far removed from that dramatical art which presides over Roman history; and which, admirable and unparallelled as it is, yet causes us often to call in question the truth of the fact, or at least of the combination of facts. At this coincident operation of tragedy among the Romans, upon the most important branches of their literature, we venture the following remark: that this species of poetry performed with them the same office, though different in manner and effects, as the Epic poetry with the Greeks.



monics of ancient writers, from comparison with similar passages, or from the whole coloring of the style; as, *Orat. pro Pis. c. 33*; “*num quam tibi, &c.*”; from *Attius*, as is observed by *Ascon. Ped.*; *Veri. II. l. 1. 18*: “*ita magni fluctus, &c.*”; from the *Achilles* of *Ennius*, according to the statement of the old scholiast; *Philipp. II. 3*. “*O tecta, &c.*”; *cfr. de Off. l. 39*; *Phil. XIII. 21*. “*Antōniorum nec nomen, &c.*” *cf. Ep. ad Fam. VII. 28, 30*; *ad Attic. XII. 12*; *Phil. II. 3*; “*illum interfecerunt, &c.*” *cf. Suet. Jul. 84*. The coloring of the diction marks out the following passages: *pro Cœlio c. 24*; *ex hac perhorrescet. Phil. XII. 12*; “*Etenim—solet,*” *Phil. XII. 10*. “*qui—oportere,*” *pro Murena c. 41*, where *Cicero* has imitated the well-known words of *Gracchus*, *quo me miser, &c.* which are undoubtedly taken from the *Medea* of *Ennius*: *cf. Cic. de Or. III. 57*; *Quint. XI. 13, 8*. We refrain from making any more references: those who have studied the productions of Roman eloquence, we think, are aware that there is another and a more intimate connexion, between the tragic and oratorical compositions of this people, than may be conceived from dramatic quotations, to exist in pieces of modern eloquence. The later orators transgressed more and more the limits which separated eloquence and tragedy, and which *Cicero*, and others had marked out, (*Cic. de Or. l. 59. III. 59*; *Brut. 88*; *Quint. I. 11, 3*; *VI. 1, 38*; *XI. 3, 57, 103. 123*; *Dial. de corr. d. c. 26*). We see from the complaints of *Quintilian* and *Tacitus*, and from the instances of later eloquence, that it trespassed more and more on the province of tragedy; and this became a chief cause of its corruption. Tragedy, on the contrary, sunk down into rhetorical declamation, and lost entirely the peculiar character of tragic poetry.’

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’ *Mr. Brougham* has observed, (in his *Inaugural Discourse* on being installed *Lord Rector* of the *University of Glasgow*, 1825,) that the tendency of Roman eloquence to show and declamation, which is so apt to fall into the territory of tragedy, was already observable in the greatest orator of that nation. He says, p. 15, where he compares *Cicero* with the Greeks: “His compositions are so extremely rhetorical, fashioned by an art so little concealed, and sacrificing the subject to a display of the speaker’s powers, that nothing can be less adapted to the genius of modern elocution, &c.” and p. 17, “while the Latin rhetorician, ingenious and ambitious, and as though he deemed his occupation a trial of skill, or display of accomplishments, seems ever and anon to lose sight of the subject matter, in the attempt to illustrate and adorn it; and pours forth passages sweet indeed, but unprofitable, fitted to tickle the ear, without reaching the heart.” Although we think that *Mr. Brougham* has somewhat wronged the Roman orator; yet, on the

No less important and indisputable was the influence of Roman tragedy on those arts, which we usually denominate *the fine arts*. It gave birth to a certain art, different from, or rather forming part of the Pantomimes, and which might be termed "the art of tragic attitudes," revived in modern times with a magic effect, by several actors, and especially by a celebrated German actress, *Hendel Schütz*. Quintilian calls this art, "*gravioris gestus lex*," (l. 11, 17); but the names, *chironomia*, *saltatio*, are more common. Some such tragic attitudes are mentioned by Pollux, (On. IV. c. XIV. cf. Salm. ad Script. H. A. p. 836.) Under this description comes the representation of the Nemesis, alleged by Pliny, (H. N. XI. 108. cf. Manso in *Vermischte Schriften*, p. 321) and that of *Mastitia*, (cf. Welker's *Zeitschrift für Geschichte der alten Kunst*, 1 B. 5 Heft. S. 497). Most excellent are the illustrations of Winkelmann, Genellius, (de *theatro Athen.*), and Böttiger, (*Artisches Museum*, l. I and II.) on those attitudes found in vase pictures. It might seem singular that Libanius (Opp. ed. Reiske, III. p. 392.) should prefer these representative attitudes to the works of the best sculptors; but whoever has seen the above-mentioned Hendel Schütz represent Niobe, will no longer be surprised at this assertion.

That *music* also, in its application to tragic performances, derived great benefit from this association, is likewise ascertained by the testimony of ancient writers. To give exact statements on this point, will, however, after all that has been

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whole, the difference between the Roman and Greek eloquence, as pointed out in that dissertation, is correctly accounted for. The cause of this diversity is traced to the different nature of the subjects treated by the Greeks and Romans, (pp. 22, 23.); but though this reason is acutely developed, it does not alone account for the question; the reason must be looked for in the diversity of the fundamental principles, on which the whole national life of the Greeks and Romans displayed itself. The principle, from which all the phenomena of public life with the Greeks, and especially with the Athenians, proceeded, and with which they were essentially impressed, was neither a struggle of parties for equal rights, nor a contest for external domination; but the development and preservation of democratical liberty and of humanity. Hence that noble struggle for the Hegemony, (so beautifully painted by Demosthenes,) in order to protect the liberty of Greece from internal and external aggressions: hence that generous and liberal character of all the arts and sciences—the high stamp of dramatic productions, the serious and chaste dress of eloquence. The same spirit which animated the political exertions of the nation, pervaded their intellectual achievements; it was the same principle which stamped the former and the latter, with that characteristic feature, which has never since appeared.

said by Du Bos, Burney, Genell, Votry and others, be more difficult perhaps respecting the Roman, than with regard to the Grecian music. Not less evident, in general, though no more elucidated for individual investigations, is the connexion which subsisted between tragic performances, and the works of painters and sculptors. As Homer supplied Phidias with a model for his Jupiter, so, in like manner, eminent tragic poets, particularly through the medium of great actors, (whereon we have just adduced the judgment of Libanius) aided the imagination of painters, sculptors, and gem engravers. In addition to the valuable inquiries of Winkelmann, the researches of Millin, (*Description d'une Mosaïque antique du Musée Pio-Clément, Paris, 1819. l'Orestéide, &c.*), Uhden (*über Iphigenia in Aulis und Tauris, nach Werken der Bildenden Kunst*), Genell. (*über das Theater*), and Böttiger (*Attisches Museum, and several treatises*), deserve the highest commendation. Though by these and other scholars many relics of antiquity have been happily illustrated; yet much is still involved in obscurity: to state with any degree of certainty, whether the work of a sculptor or painter, though its reference to some tragic idea be ever so probable, ought to be traced to Greek or Roman poetry, is very frequently attended with considerable difficulty. It was easy, indeed, to ascertain that the wall-picture, produced by Ludius, at the time of Augustus, (*Plin. H. N. XXXV. 10; Vitruv. VII. 5, 2.*) was indebted to the Roman stage for its origin, (*cf. Böttiger, "quid sit fabulam docere," 4. Stiegl. Archæol. Unterhaltungen, I. p. 189. Compare also Gregor. Nyss. ep. 6. and Müller de genio sæculi Theodos. II. p. 109, sqq.*) But Winkelmann traces a work which he had described (*in monum. ined. h. 85.*) to the Antiope of Euripides; though others suppose, that it could as well be referred to a tragedy of Ennius or Pacuvius, on the same subject. The same remark is applied to an antique, lately found in Holland, (*Kunstblatt, 1822. n. 3*), which represents the Iphigenia Taurica. Several works also, mentioned by Pliny; the pictures by Timomachus; Ajax and Medea, (*Plin. XXXV. 11, 5, 30. cf. Ovid. Trist. II. 525. Böttiger de Medea Euripidea cum priscae artis Opp. comp.*); the Sarnesian bull, as it is now called, (*Plin. XXXVI. 4, 5, 10. cf. Heyne Antiquar. Aufsätze, II. 184. Schlegel Vorles. über Dram. Litter. II. 3. 19*), and the Laocoön, which Titus had among his works, (*Plin. XXXV. 4, 5, 11.*) are supposed by some scholars to belong to this subject.

If the remarks already made have placed beyond question, (and we hope they have,) the effective influence of Roman tra-

gedy on the cultivated classes, and the different branches of literature and the arts; there yet remains another question to be decided, viz.: had Roman tragedy an influence on the nation at large? was it national?

According to our earlier observations, it is certain that the leading features which constitute a national tragedy, were wanting to the Roman tragedy; and it is no less certain, that dramatic pieces, at any period, never excite interest, and are mainly effective on the minds of a nation, but when they are national.<sup>1</sup>

We must at least further allow, with Lessing, that the gladiatorial plays could not but prove prejudicial to the sense of dramatic performances; and it has at length become indisputable, that many of the most essential means of cultivation, which were effective in Greece, were wanting at Rome. Notwithstanding this, it may be ascertained that the theatre at Rome excited the interest, and operated on the mind of the public, in a degree by no means inferior, indeed we may venture to say superior, to that which dramatic poetry obtains with any nation of our own time.

Without stopping to discuss the causes of this fact at any length, we only advert to the facility with which, in republics, all the means of cultivation afforded by social life spread over the whole nation—to the influence exercised in those states by eloquence and the publicity of all transactions, the natural effect of which is a general taste for public exhibitions and intellectual productions—and, in particular, to the conformity of the ancient Roman tragedy with the true national character of the Romans, respecting the expression of the passions and the moral tenor, though ever so foreign as to the subject, (for we do not here take into account the few pieces with Roman subjects.) We have already noticed this point, on an earlier occasion, and shown, that this peculiarity of the ancient tragedy may justly be styled a national feature, which they derived from their native country. The serious, dignified, and powerful diction of these productions, (Sen. ep. VIII. Cic. ep. IX. 12. Aug. de Civ. D. II. 8.) the deep, religious tendency, peculiar to them, (Cic. de Off. III. 26, 29); the high-minded, and truly Roman sentiments of fortitude, constancy and greatness of soul, (Cic. Tusc. III. 13, 31. de Off. I. 18), with which they were thoroughly

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<sup>1</sup> Never was the interest for the theatre more general and fervent, than at Athens, (cf. Passovii Melet. Crit. in *Æschyli Persas*, Vratislav. 1818. A. L. Jacob in Sophocl. *Quæst. Varsav.* 1341); because their theatre was throughout, to all intents and purposes, national.

impressed; the abundance of moral sentences, for which the Romans had so distinguished a taste;<sup>1</sup> all these features, notwithstanding their foreign subjects, must endear these productions to the Roman character.

We accordingly meet with a sufficient number of passages in the ancient writers, which unquestionably make manifest, as well the cultivating effects inherent in Roman tragedy, as the interest and taste of the public for it. In the former respect, we find the effects of theatrical representation excellently described in the verses of Varro, (ap. Nonium, v. Iguoscite):

Vosque, in theatro qui voluptatem auribus

Huc aucupatum concurristis domo,

Adeste, et a me quæ feram ignoscite,

Domum ut feratis a theatro litteras.

It appears from this passage, as also from many of Cicero and Horace, that the Romans, like the Greeks, (cf. Timocles, ap. Athen. L. VI. c. 1. Lib. Tom. II. p. 39. ed. Reiske,) considered the theatre as a moral institution; and Ennius says therefore, that his countrymen learnt there, in a manner, to philosophize (paucis philosophant, Fragm. ed. Hessel p. 303.<sup>2</sup>); and Ovid could say, (Fest. II. 535,) "quidquid didicissent theatris, cantare et faciles ad sua verba jactare manus." We should have still more light on this point, if we had more of such illustrations as we find ad Herenn. II. 27, on the philosophical treatment of the mythus of Zethus and Amphion by Pacuvius, or ad Herenn. II. 28, on the moral contemplations on fortune. This argument applies especially to the moral sentences, according to the judicious remark of Seneca, (Ep. c. VIII.): "Non vides quemadmodum theatra consonent, quoties aliqua dicta sunt, quæ publice agnoscimus et consensu vera esse testamur"—as the sentences: "flagitū principium est nudare inter cives cor-

<sup>1</sup> The fondness of the Romans for such wise sayings is known: cf. Quint. VIII. 5. Senec. Controv. II. 14. III. 18. Dial. de c. el. c. 20. Gell. XVII. 14. Macrob. Sat. V. 16.

<sup>2</sup> The theatre was generally regarded under the idea of a moral institution, intended to form the public spirit, by the classic nations of antiquity, since they were trained up to trace all the phenomena of social life to their ultimate end. Cf. Lessing, Dramaturgie, I. 49, sqq. Schiller, die Schaubühne als Moralische Anstalt betrachtet. Werke II. S. 389, sqq. Herder, Briefe zur Beförderung der Humanität. We must not be embarrassed by some intimations of Cicero, in which he makes mention of immoral passages in the dramatic productions, v. c. de Div. II. 50. de Fin. II. 7, 22. de Nat. Deor. II. 26. He himself gives the best explanation, de Off. I. 28.

pora," (Cic. Tusc. IV. 33.) "Proinde ita parent se in vita, ut vinci nesciant," (Cic. Tusc. V. 18), &c. They frequently passed over into common life, and became proverbs, (cf. Vopisc. in Numer. c. 13); for example: "Amicus certus in re incerta cernitur," (Cic. Læl. c. 17); "Male parta, male dilabuntur," (Nævius ap. Festum, *partus*); "laudari a laudato viro," (Symm. l. 3,) and many others.

## REMARKS OF

The REV. SAMUEL SEYER, M.A. of Bristol, on some passages of MR. SEAGER'S *EMENDATIONES IN SCRIPTORES QUOSDAM GRÆCOS*;" (published by Mr. Parker of Oxford;) and MR. SEAGER'S *Answers*, are printed with the permission of MR. SEYER.

Page 1. Xenoph. Memorab. lib. I. cap. 4. Sect. 8. Σὺ δὲ σαυτὸν φρόνιμον τι δοκεῖς ἔχειν; ἐρώτα γοῦν καὶ ἀποκρινοῦμαι· ἄλλοθι δὲ οὐδαμοῦ οὐδὲν οἶσι φρόνιμον εἶναι;

Nunquam sic interrogasset Socrates, ἄλλοθι δὲ οὐδαμοῦ οὐδὲν οἶσι φρόνιμον εἶναι, nisi priori interrogationi, Σὺ δὲ σαυτὸν φρόνιμον τι δοκεῖς ἔχειν; assensus esset Aristodemus: quod tamen is verbis istis, ἐρώτα γοῦν καὶ ἀποκρινοῦμαι, nullus fecerat. Quapropter legendum suspicor, ΕΡΩΤΑΣ γοῦν καὶ ΑΠΟΚΡΙΝΟΜΑΙ. Nam respondeo quidem certe ad interrogationes tuas. Hoc significat Aristodemus, Dubium esse non posse quin ipse φρόνιμον τι habeat, cum ad interrogationes respondeat.

"Subauditur fortasse δοκῶ ellipsi frequentissima." S. Seyer.

Resp. Sane verbum δοκῶ, vel tale quid, subaudiri certissimum est. Quin ideo verba ista (quidquid subauditur, ineptissima) ἐρώτα γοῦν καὶ ἀποκρινοῦμαι mutavi, quia rationem illius assensionis, quæ eleganter atque Atticè reticetur, non reddunt; id quod optime faciunt hæc, ἐρωτᾷς γοῦν καὶ ἀποκρίνεται.

Plato Sympos. p. 184. l. 38. ed. Basil. prim. "Ἔστι δὲ κάλλιστος (ὁ Ἔρως) ὃν τοιοῦδε. πρῶτον μὲν νεώτατος θεῶν, ὦ Φαῖδρε. μέγα δὲ τεκμηρίον τῷ λόγῳ αὐτοῦ παρῆχεται, φεύγων φυγῇ τὸ γῆρας, ταχὺ δὲν δηλονότι θάπτον γοῦν τοῦ δεόντος ἡμῖν προσέτεχται. ὃ δὲ

πέφικεν Ἐρως μιστῇ, καὶ οὐδ' ὄντος πολλοῦ πλησιάζειν. Ex hisce verbis καὶ οὐδ' ὄντος πολλοῦ πλησιάζειν vidit Stephanus sensum nullam loco aptum elici posse. Conjiçio, καὶ ΟΥΔΕΝΙ ΦΥΟΝΤΙ ΠΟΛΙΑΣ πλησιάζειν. Lucianus in dialogo Cupidinis et Jovis, Σὺ παῖδιον, ὦ Ἐρως, ὃς ἀρχαιότερος εἰ πολὺ τοῦ Ἰαπετοῦ; ἢ διότι μὴ πάγωντα μηδὲ ΠΟΛΙΑΣ ΕΦΤΑΣΑΣ, διὰ ταῦτα καὶ βρέφος ἀξιοῖς νομίζεσθαι, γέροντα καὶ παροῦργος ὦν; Lægi posset sic quoque, καὶ ΟΥΔΕΝΙ ΟΝΤΙ ΠΟΛΙΩ πλησιάζειν. Nam vox πολὺς non de capillis solum usurpatur, verum etiam de homine ipso qui πολιὰς φύει. Aristophanes, Lysistrata, 596, κἀν ἡ πολὺς, ταχὺ παῖδα κόρην γεγάμηκε. Plutarchus in Catone Maj. οὐ μόνον ἔως ἐτι νέος καὶ φιλότιμος ἦν, ἀλλὰ καὶ γέροντα καὶ πολὺν ἡδὴ (ὁρῶντες) ἐγκαρτεροῦντα τῇ τάξει τῆς ἀσκήσεως. Lucianus in Necyomantia, Συγγίνομαι τινι τῶν Χαλδαίων, σοφῶ ἀνδρὶ, καὶ θεσπεσίῳ τὴν τέχνην, πολιῶ μὲν τὴν κόμην, γένειον δὲ μάλα σεμνὸν καθεμμένον. "Lege καὶ οὐ, δεόντος πολλοῦ, πλησιάζειν. longu intervallo." S. Seyer.

Resp. His Emendationibus vix excusis, vidi legendum esse, καὶ οὐδ' ὄντος πολλοῦ πλησιάζειν. Subaudi διαστήματος, quæ vox in Xenoph. Anab. 3, 4, 23 subauditur: καὶ γίνεται τοσούτον μεταξύ τῶν στρατευμάτων, ὥστε τῇ ὑστεραίᾳ οὐκ ἐφάνησαν οἱ πολέμιοι, οὐδὲ τῇ τρίτῃ.

Plato Sympos. p. 189. l. 18. Ἐπεὶ καὶ ἐν ἑκάστῃ τῶν ζώων ζῆν καλεῖται καὶ εἶναι τὸ αὐτὸ. οἶον ἐκ παιδαρίου ὁ αὐτὸς λέγεται ἕως ἂν πρεσβύτης γένηται· οὗτος μέντοι οὐδέποτε τὰ αὐτὰ ἔχων ἐν ἑαυτῷ ὅμως ὁ αὐτὸς καλεῖται, ἀλλὰ νέος (ἀλλοῖος Stephanus) αἰεὶ γιγνώμενος τὰ δὲ ἄπολλὺς καὶ κατὰ τὰς τρίχας, καὶ σάρκα, καὶ ὀστέα, καὶ αἷμα, καὶ ξύμπαν τὸ σῶμα.—Platonem existimo scripsisse ἀλλοῖος αἰεὶ γιγνώμενος, ΤΑ ΜΕΝ ΚΤΩΜΕΝΟΣ, τὰ δὲ ἀπολλὺς καὶ κατὰ τὰς τρίχας, καὶ σάρκα, καὶ ὀστέα, καὶ αἷμα, καὶ ξύμπαν τὸ σῶμα.

"Violenter." S. Seyer.

Vehementer ægrā sananda sunt vehementer.

Plato, in Lyside, p. 264. l. 50. οὐκοῦν ταυτὰ ἡμῖν συμβήσεται ἀναγκαῖον εἶναι ὁμολογεῖν, ὥστε ἐπὶ τῶν πρότερον· πολλάκις φίλον εἶναι μὴ φίλου, πολλάκις δὲ καὶ ἐχθροῦ· ὅταν ἢ μὴ φιλοῦν τις φίλῃ, ἢ καὶ μισοῦν φίλῃ. πολλάκις δ' ἐχθρὸν εἶναι μὴ ἐχθροῦ, καὶ φίλου· ὅταν ἢ μισοῦν τις φίλῃ, ἢ καὶ φιλοῦν μισῇ.—Mallem (id quod sententia postulat) πολλάκις δ' ἐχθρὸν εἶναι μὴ ἐχθροῦ, ἢ καὶ φίλου· ὅταν ἢ ΜΗ-μισοῦν τις ΜΙΣΗ, ἢ καὶ φιλοῦν μισῇ.

"Probabiliter sed dure." S. Seyer.

Resp. Cedo mutationem leviores, quæ huic loco lucem det :

nam verba ista, ut nunc leguntur, ne Δίλιος quidem κολυμβήτης intelligat.

Plato in Euthydemo, p. 274. l. 52. Ἰσως μὲν οὖν φορτικώτερόν τι ἐρήσομαι, ἀλλὰ συγγίνωσκε. ὅρα δέ. εἰ γὰρ μήτε ψεύδεσθαι ἐστι, μήτε ψεύδη δοξάζειν, μήτε ἀμαθῆ εἶναι, ἀλλ' ὅτι οὐδ' ἐξαμαρτάνειν ἐστὶν ὅταν τις τι πράττη.—Henricus Stephanus pro ἀλλ' ὅτι re-poni voluit ἀλλ' ἔτι, quod mihi minime satisfacit. Verba quidem ista mendosa esse, quivis videat; quæ sic, distinctione quoque mutata, castiganda existimo; εἰ γὰρ μήτε ψεύδεσθαι ἐστι, μήτε ψεύδη δοξάζειν, μήτε ἀμαθῆ εἶναι, ΑΛΛΟΤΙ οὐδ' ἐξαμαρτάνειν ἐστὶν ὅταν τις τι πράττη;

“*Quid si legas μήτε ἀμαθῆ εἶναι ἄλλοτε, quovis alio modo.*”  
S. Seyer.

Resp. Vide, sis H. Stephani Thesaurum tom. 1. col. 341. g. (ἄλλοτι adverbium, aut adverbialiter positum, *Utrum* vel *Nunquid*, pro ἄρα.) Vereor ut ἄλλοτε pro “*Quovis alio modo*” usquam inveniat: certe nihil tale in H. Stephani locupletissimo Thesaurο.

Plato, in Hippia minore, p. 358. l. 12. ΣΩ. οὐκ οἶσθα ὅτι λέγων ὕστερον ἢ ὡς πρὸς τὸν Ὀδυσσεῆα ἔφη ἅμα τῇ ἡοὶ ἀποπλευσεῖσθαι. πρὸς τὸν Αἴαντα δὲ οὐκ αὐτὸς φησιν ἀποπλευσεῖσθαι ἀλλὰ ἄλλα λέγει; Hic locus, quem Henricus Stephanus recte vidit mendosum esse, sic refingendus mihi videtur, Οὐκ οἶσθα ὅτι λέγων ΜΕΝ ΠΡΟΣ Τὸν Ὀδυσσεῆα ἔφη ἅμα τῇ ἡοὶ ἀποπλευσεῖσθαι, ΤΣΤΕΡΟΝ ΔΕ πρὸς τὸν Αἴαντα οὐκ αὐτὸς φησιν ἀποπλευσεῖσθαι, ἀλλὰ ἄλλα λέγει; “*Nimia est mutatio.*” S. Seyer.

Resp. Non hic redivia curanda.

Isocrates, Nicocles, p. 86. l. 16. ed. Battie, Cantab. 1729. Μηδενὸς οὖν ὀλιγωρεῖτε, μηδὲ καταφρονεῖτε τῶν τεταγμένων ὑπολαμβάνοντες ὡς οὐ παρὰ ταῦτ' ἐστὶν, ἀλλ' ὡς παρ' ἕκαστον τῶν μερῶν ἢ καλῶς ἢ κακῶς ἔξον τὸ σύμπαν, οὕτω σπουδάζετε περὶ αὐτῶν, καὶ κήρεσθε μηδὲν ἥττον τῶν ἐμῶν, ἢ τῶν ὑμετέρων αὐτῶν. “*Multum obscuritatis est in verbis ὑπολαμβάνοντες ὡς οὐ παρὰ ταῦτ' ἐστὶν,*” inquit Wolfius. Nec mirum; quippe scribendum ὑπολαμβάνοντες ὡς οὐ ΠΑΡΕΡΓΑ ταῦτ' ἐστίν.

“*Hæreo.*” S. Seyer.

Resp. Πάρεργα, Levia, contemnenda. Quod præter susceptum aliquod opus accedit, plerumque leve et negligendum videtur. Consulendi Budæi Commentarii in Ling. Græc.

Polybius, Excerpt. Leg. 41. p. 623. l. 2. ed. Ernesti Lips. 1764. καὶ τέλος οὐκ εἶασε κυρωθῆναι τὸ διαβούλιον, ἀλλ' εἰς ὑπέρθεσιν ἤγαγε τὴν προειρημένην ἀλογίαν.—Scripserat Polybius proculdubio, ἀλλ' εἰς ὑπέρθεσιν ἤγαγε ΔΙΑ τὴν προειρημένην ἀλογίαν.

“*Hæsito.*” S. Seyer.



Resp. Tota series in Polybio ipso considerata.

Polybius, Excerpt. de virt. et vit. p. 113. l. 20. καὶ θᾶττον ἢ καθήκεν ἐξέλαμψεν ἡ τοῦ Σικιπίωνος ἐν τῇ 'Ρώμῃ δόξα. Restituamus, θᾶττον ἢ ΚΑΘ' ΗΛΙΚΙΑΝ ἐξέλαμψεν, κ. τ. λ.

"Ingeniose, sed harco." S. Seyer.

Resp. Ne dubita. θᾶττον ἢ καθήκεν falsum: tanti viri fama nimis cito elucere non potuit, θᾶττον ἢ καθ' ἡλικίαν verissimum: Scipio enim pæne puer inclaruit.

Plutarchus, Moral.: Πῶς ἂν τις διακρίνειε, κ. τ. λ. XIV. sect. 57. D. p. 218. lin. 14.—Legendum "Ἥδη δὲ καὶ ῥήτορός ἐστιν ὅτε κολακεία ΔΙΑΣΤΡΟΨΙ φιλόσοφον.

"ῥήτορες." S. Seyer.

Resp. ῥήτορες κολακεία, rhetorem adulantem.

Plutarchus, Συμποσιακῶν βιβλ. γ'. προβλ. A. sect. 647. C. p. 633. l. 1. Μάλιστα μὲν γὰρ ὁ ἀκράτος, ὅταν τῆς κεφαλῆς καθάψηται, καὶ ἈΤΟΝΩΣΗ: τὰ σώματα πρὸς τὰς τῶν αἰσθήσεων ἀγρᾶς, ἐπιταράσσει τὴν ἀνθρωπίνην.

"Unde hoc vocabulum?" S. Seyer.

Resp. Verbum ἀτόνώ, nisi fallor, aut in Aristotele, aut in Plutarcho, me legisse memini, ut sit hoc, verbum ἀτονῶ analogia satis tuetur. α τόνος τονῶ, (quod in ipso Plutarcho legitur, Moral. tom. 111. p. 633. edit. Wytenb. in 8vo.) ab ἄτονος ἀτονῶ, Laxo, Languidum reddo.

Diogenes Laertius, in vita Diogenis, p. 330. sect. 29. ed. Meibomii 1692.

Κωλυθεὶς καθίξασθαι, οὐδὲν ἔφη διαφέρει· καὶ γὰρ τοὺς ἰχθῦς ὅπως ἂν κείντο πιπράσκεισθαι.—Legi debet ΔΙΑΦΕΡΕΙΝ.

"Cur ita?" S. Seyer.

Resp. Τὸ διαφέρειν τῇ πιπράσκεισθαι respondeat necesse est, ut in ambobus sermo obliquis sit.

Diogenes Laertius, in vita Zenonis, p. 377. sect. 21. Πρὸς τὸν καλὸν ἔποντα ὅτι οὐ ἔοικε αὐτῷ ἐρασθήσεσθαι ὁ σοφὸς, Οὐδὲν, ἔφη, ὑμῶν ἀβλιώτερον ἔσεσθαι τῶν καλῶν.—Constitui potest hic locus, ut mea fert opinio, legendo, Οὐδὲν ΑΡΑ, ἔφη, ὑμῶν ἀβλιώτερον ΕΣΕΤΑΙ τῶν καλῶν.

"Nihil necesse." S. Seyer.

Resp. At vero ferri non possunt et ὑμῶν et ἔσεσθαι; nisi ipsum Laertium sermonem ad pulchros convertere putamus: nam modus infinitivus, ἔσεσθαι, satis doceret, (si sincerum esset) hæc obliqua esse, et referri tantum ab Laetio, non ipsissima Zenonis verba esse: quis enim unquam sic aliquem allocutus est, οὐδὲν ἄβλιώτερον ἔσεσθαι? Legendum igitur ut in emendatione mea.

Diogenes Laertius, in vita Zenonis, pag. 467. sect. 159. εἶναι

δὲ αὐτὸ (ἀνθρώπου σπέρμα videlicet) Χρυσίππος φησιν ἐν τῇ δευτέρᾳ τῶν φυσικῶν, πνεῦμα κατὰ τὴν οὐσίαν, ὡς δῆλον ἐκ τῶν εἰς τὴν γῆν καταβαλλομένων σπερμάτων, ἃ παλαιωθέντα οὐκ ἔτι φύεται, ὡς δῆλον διαπεπνευκυίας αὐτοῖς τῆς δυνάμεως.—Particula ὡς in posteriore loco delenda esse videtur.

“Nulla eget emendatione.” S. Seyer.

Resp. ὡς ibi nullam omnino significationem habet. contra, idioma elegantissimum δῆλον absolute positum pro δηλονότι, causam rei declarans. οὐκ ἔτι φύεται δῆλον, διαπεπνευκυίας αὐτοῖς τῆς δυνάμεως. scilicet; videlicet.

Ælianus. In Æliani historia de scelesto illo Macareo Mitylenei sic legitur, Χρόνῳ δὲ ἀφικόμενος ὁ ξένος τὸ χρυσίον ἀπῆτει· ὁ δὲ εἰσαγαγὼν ἔνδον, ὡς ἀποδώσων, κατέσφαξε, καὶ τὸ χρυσίον ἀνῶρυξεν, ἀντ’ αὐτοῦ δὲ τὸν ξένον κατέθηκε· καὶ ὤρετο, ὥσπερ τοὺς ἀνθρώπους, λαυθάνειν οὕτω καὶ τὸν θεόν· πλὴν οὐκ ἀπῆντησε ταῦτα ταύτῃ ποθέν.

Ubi Upton, *Haec particula ποθέν hoc loco fere expletiva est, ut ἄλλοθεν ποθέν, elegantia potius quam necessitatis gratia.* Particula ποθέν jungitur illa quidem vocibus quibusdam motum a loco significantibus, ut ἄλλοθεν passim; ut ἐνθῆδε, Plato Phædr. Εἰπέ μοι, ὦ Σώκρατες, ὡς ΕΝΘΕΝ·ΙΕ μέντοι ΠΟΘΕΝ, ἀπὸ τοῦ Ἰλισσοῦ, λέγεται ὁ Βορέας τὴν Ὀρείθειαν ἀρπάσαι; ut πόρρωθεν, Lucianus in Jove Tragædo, Ἐν ἀκροβολισμοῖς ἔτι ἦσαν, ἀποσφενδόωντες ἀλλήλοις, ΠΟΡΡΩΘΕΝ ΠΟΘΕΝ λοιδορούμενοι; ut ἐκεῖθεν, Idem in eodem, Εἰ δὲ ὁ Ζεὺς ὁ βροντῶν ἐστι, σὺ ἂν ἄμεινον εἰδείης, ΕΚΕΙΘΕΝ ΠΟΘΕΝ ἀπὸ τῶν θεῶν ἀφίγμενος, sed nunquam fore ut ταύτῃ ποθέν sic conjuncta reperiantur, mihi sat acceptum est. Legendum proculdubio πλὴν οὐκ ἀπῆντησε ταῦτα ταύτῃ. Πόθεν; Πούεν hic significat οὐδαμῶς. Demosthenes in Timocratem: οἱ τοῦτῳ, παριόντες, αὐτίκα δὲ μάλα συναπολογήσονται. οὐ μὰ Δι’ οὐ Τιμοκράτει χαρίσασθαι βουλόμενοι ΠΟΘΕΝ; ἀλλ’ αὐτῷ συμφέρειν ἕκαστος ἡγούμενος τὸν νόμον. Demosthen. de Corona, ἀλλ’ οὐκ ἔστι ταῦτα ΠΟΘΕΝ; πολλοῦ γε καὶ δεῖ. Lucian. Pseudologista, Ταυτὰ σοι καὶ αὐτὸς ἀπειλῶ· οὐ μὰ τὸν Δία τῷ Ἀρχιλόχῳ εἰκάζων ἑμαυτόν ΠΟΘΕΝ; πολλοῦ γε καὶ ζέω· σοὶ δὲ μυρία (forsan μυρίων) συνειδῶς ἰάμβων ἄζια βεβιωμένα. Demosth. de male obita legatione, Οὐχ ὡς ὅδε Φωκίας ἀπώλεσεν ἂν καθ’ ἑαυτοῦ ΠΟΘΕΝ; Idem in Timocratem. Οὐ πρόικα, ὦ Τιμοκράτες, (ΠΟΘΕΝ;) οὐδ’ ὀλίγου δὲ τοῦτον ἔθικας τὸν νόμον. Plutarchus in vita Catonis Utic. Ἐξέπεμψας, εἶπεν, ὦ Ἀπολλωνίδη, τὸν Στατύλιον, ἀπὸ τοῦ φρονήματος ἐκείνου καθελών; καὶ πέπλευκεν ὁ ἀνὴρ μὴδὲ ἀσπατάμενος ἡμᾶς; ΠΟΘΕΝ; (εἶπεν ὁ Ἀπολλωνίδης) καίτοι πολλὰ διελέχθημεν· ἀλλὰ ὑψηλὸς ἐστὶ καὶ ἄτρεπτος, καὶ μένειν φησὶ, καὶ πράττειν ὅ τι ἂν σὺ πράττῃς. Diogenes Laertius, p. 547. sect. 91.

Κ' οὐδὲν ἔλεξε (ΠΟΘΕΝ;) βοῖ γὰρ λόγον οὐ πόρε φύτλη  
 Οὐδὲ ἄλλον μόνον Ἀπίδι στόμα· ἀλλὰ, κ. τ. λ.

Nam ita legit Henricus Stephanus.

"Sed in his omnibus locis ποθεν mihi videtur esse non οὐδαμῶς,  
 sed, Unde hoc? Quidni? Cur ita hoc evenit?" S. Seyer.

Resp. Si Latine reddere voluissem, in promptu erat, *Qui potuerit?* sed nihil melius HESYCHII interpretatione, Πόθεν;  
 ΟΥΔΑΜΩΣ· μεθ' ὑποκρίσεως.

## PROLOGUE

### TO THE *ANDRIA* OF TERENCE;

PERFORMED AT WESTMINSTER SCHOOL, DEC. 1825.

DUNLOP.

Salvete! nobis benevoli et Terentio!  
 Quoscunque, Elizæ rite servantes fidem,  
 Juvat vetustis interesse lusibus.

Atqui (fatemur) nonnihil veriti sumus,  
 Ne, quod placere cæteris accepimus,  
 Et vos, scientioris alicujus gregem,  
 Alibi teneret forsitan Prælectio.

Nam crescit isthæc indies opinio,  
 Errasse totâ huc usque Majores viâ:  
 "Jam tempus adfert (clamitant) mores novos;  
 Aliamque rerum postulat scientiam!"

Musæ videtis quam gravi in periculo  
 Versentur—ut per vim atque contumeliam  
 Ubique notis exuuntur sedibus!  
 At nosmet istud erimus auctores mali?  
 Saltem hic, precamur, integrum cultum sui,  
 Normamque literata, non operaria,  
 Servaverit Minerva! Nos scientiam,  
 Haudquaquam omissis cæteris, unam tamen  
 Habuimus olim, et nunc habemus maxumam,  
 Se quisque ut ipsum noscat: isto scilicet  
 Pacto arbitrantur optume ac facillume  
 Institui ad omnia posse vitæ munia.

Hoc, usa Græcis semper exemplaribus,  
 Veri atque Honesti consecratis fontibus,

Consuetæ nobis præstat Institutio :  
 Hoc universis civibus prodest magis ;  
 Augēt, tuetur, servat hoc Rempublicam.  
 Quod restat, advortatis huc animos velim :  
 Hæc nocte saltem doctus attentis dabit  
 Prælectionem, si placet, Terentius.

## EPILOGUE.

CRITO, solus.

Demiror—nusquamne mihi caupona? columnæ  
 Herculeæ hæc steterant, si memini, plateâ ;  
 Ne plus ultra olim peregrino— (Prodit DAVUS.)  
 Oh ! Dave ! quid istuc  
 Ornati est? D. Dî me denique respiciunt.  
 Quid tibi vero agitur? C. Cauponam quærito ubique.  
 D. Cauponam dixti, sordide? plaude tibi,  
 In me qui incideris. C. Qu. tandem? D. Urbana reperta  
 Quippe a me discas : vilis vulgus amet ;  
 Privata ingenuis hodie vivaria. C. Novi :  
 Sancti Jacobi qualia vicus habet ;  
 Res uli civiles agitant. D. Propria, obsecro, soli  
 Ista Senatores semper habere velint?  
 Nonne alios, vivunt quotcunque, domique suique  
 Pertæsum est? parilem hi jure merentur opem.  
 Ergo ausculta. Homines chartas consumere nati  
 Fœdere communi mille coire solent ;  
 Excipit hos grandis, vastæque innixa culinæ,  
 Atque instructa omni commoditate domus.  
 Delecti e numero, rerum quos et patinarum est,  
 Nullo permissio vindice, summa penès.  
 Est quoque Curator scitissimus—hoc ego fungor  
 Munere.—C. Curator tunc vocaris?—D. Ita est.  
 Qui servus fueram, servis nunc impero : nullus  
 Segnitiae locus hic : dux ego, quicquid agunt.  
 Solus et annonam, impensas, rescripta, tributum,  
 Procuro.—C. Qui sis, jam bene notus eris.  
 D. Qui grege de nullo fuerit, contemptus et exlex  
 (Prodit PAMPHILUS.)  
 Omnino.—C. Quisnam hic? Pamphile, tunc foris?  
 Tam cito! quod propensas?—P. Ad conciliabula nostra ;  
 Ut soleo.—C. Hui! nec te jam nova nupta tenet?  
 F. A mensa atque toro possim divortia ferre ;

- A mensâ et chartâ stat mihi nulla pati.  
*C.* Dî magni atque Deæ ! at, nuptis tam barbara passis,  
 Quid tandem innuptis fiet amabilibus ?  
*D.* Actum aiunt secum ; et pejori lege queruntur  
 Conjungi Monachos in sua jura novos.  
*C.* Inventum iuventorum hoc est ; hoc jam omnia vincit.  
*P.* Immò ; vivendi hæc unica causa venit.  
 Non hodie inservit miles, neque navita honori ;  
 Mercatorve lucro : majus utrique bonum est.  
 Quis penitus Rerum Naturam exquirere vèllet,  
 Nî data Athenæi festa, epulæque, forent ?  
 Nemo Orientalis, nemo est Academicus, Alpes  
 Nemo peregrinans transit in Italiam,  
 Hanc qui non requiem poscat sibi. Commodâ nescis,  
 Mille voluptates, deliciasque loci.  
 Quin referam—ante focum lecti mollissima pluma,  
 Quali olim haud fultus Sardanapalus erat.  
 Membra reclinatus, cubitisque utrinque levatis,  
 Oscito, dormito—nam sibi quisque vacat.  
 Nunc hos, nunc illos leviter percurrere libros,  
 Fabellam, vitam, drama, poëination,  
 Censurasve juvat ; narrare, audire vicissim,  
 Contineant chartæ quicquid in urbe novi  
*D.* Tum vero patulam semper servare fenestram  
 Lecta cohors. *P.* Multum hinc plebis in ora jocos.  
 At notos—nutu—nictu—risu saluto :  
 Reddere personæ congrua cuique meum est.  
 Lux hæc inter abit :—quinta dein scribitur hora  
 Passim : unus labor hic sollicitat placidos.  
 “ Nulla dies nobis sine litera.” *C.* At, oro, paratus  
 Qualis sit cœnæ ? *P.* Protinus ista peto.  
 Symposium en ! lautum—tecti in penetralibus altis  
 Bis senos, ut par, mensa rotunda capit.  
 Rarius hoc—conclave patens plerumque subimus ;  
 Inspicit hic chartam quisque, legitque locum.  
 Tum præsto aut carnis solidæ repetita voluptas  
 Ad libitum ; aut ani portio sufficiens.  
 Insuper et vini per sobria pôcla, triental  
 Ebiberit. *C.* Parce permodiceque tuus.  
*P.* Saxe—sed laquear, lychui, et pretiosa supellex  
 (Non sua, confiteor, non aliena tamen)  
 Vel Regem efficiunt—nulla et mercede ministri  
 Donandi. *C.* Laudo hoc—optima conditio est.  
 Quin me duc ; nam tecum hodie cœnare—*D.* Quid, au<sup>da</sup>x,

Inceptas ? umbris accubuisse nefas.

P. Quod licet, inspexisse dabo, et per singula ducam :

Arceatur dapibus turba profana. C. Grave est.

D. Multa prius curæ—ora—ambi—suffragia capta :

Qui te proponat, quique secundet, opus.

Fecerit arbitrium de te tandem urna ; periculum

Magnum hoc—exsiliat calculus ater, abis !

C. Non Cereris, Bacchique mihi mysteria tanti.

P. Quin abeo—infelix, atque profane, vale—

[*Exeunt* PAM. et DAV.

C. Haud inventa tamen nostratibus ulla novabunt

ingenium, hospitibus semper, ut ante, ferum.

Ad vos confugio—securus quippe repulsæ est,

Qui vestram implorat pauper et hospes opem.

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## ORIGINES ;

*Or, Remarks on the Origin of several States, Empires,  
and Cities.* BY SIR W. DRUMMOND. 8vo.

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AFTER a careful perusal of this learned and elaborate work on Chronology and History, the following remarks occurred to me as perhaps calculated to be useful in the investigations which form the subject of Sir W. Drummond's researches.

Ancient Chronology is a subject from which the learned turn away with dread, and the unlearned, either with contempt, or with full satisfaction in whatever *one* book they have selected as their oracle. The number of those who, by having made themselves acquainted with the existing differences of opinion on this subject, and the hinges on which the controversies turn, are competent to form a judgment on Ancient Chronology, is exceedingly small. It has not fallen to my lot to meet with even one person acquainted with the *principia* of the subject ; neither do I profess myself to have done more than reduce to short tables, and so bring before the eye, the systems of Usher, Newton, Jackson, Hales and Faber.

In the present age, the old maxim, *Omne ignotum pro magnifico*, no longer holds good ; but, on the contrary, the levelling principle proclaims, to the great satisfaction of the *οἱ πολλοί*, *Omne ignotum pro inutili* ; and therefore, now if ever, the la-

borious chronologist may expect that his labors will be misapprehended by ignorance and aspersed by envy and self-sufficiency.

There is also another discouragement, which I am not aware has been clearly stated. The judgment of sensible men is like a pair of scales : it weighs the pros and cons and decides by their preponderation. Horace possessed this judgment when he pronounced, *Non ego paucis offendar maculis* ; and Sir Isaac Newton, after having perused the commentators on the Prophecies, observed, " Amongst the interpreters of the last age there is scarce one of note, who hath not made some discovery worth knowing ; and thence I seem to gather that God is about opening these mysteries," (Observations on the Prophecies, p. 253.) And Mr. Waple exhibited this accurate and impartial judgment, when he observed, that " the many errors and divisions which sprung up with the reformation, plainly prove, that there were many tares mixed with it ; but which God hath been pleased to make use of to many good ends ; there being scarce any erroneous persuasion in religion, which hath not some truth mixed with it ; and which was not occasioned by some neglect in the church, which God, by those extremes punishes them for, and calls on them to reform," (Waple on Revel. x. 6, 7.)

But perhaps the finest example of impartial and sound judgment is that displayed by Bishop Burnet in his exposition of the 17th Article of the Church. Sound judgment finds pearls in rubbish ; unsound judgment finds rubbish in pearls ; sound judgment discriminates and sums up ; unsound judgment confounds and decides by *ex-parte* evidence. The views which are sometimes taken of such great works as this of Sir W. Drummond, frequently remind me of the fable of Momus and Venus.

But let this great investigator proceed : I observe much in his work of very great importance ; and I offer the following remarks with diffidence, though not without hope that they may be useful.

The first thought then that struck me, was that a system of ancient chronology may be compared to the old woman's fagot, which she endeavored to break without advice and without assistance. It then occurred to me that if a stick could be taken out of the said fagot and your learned correspondents would favor the public with their joint exertions, this stick might be broken, and perhaps, in the end, the whole fagot surmounted.

Permit me then to select such a question as, if decided, may be of great importance not only in itself, but ultimately in relation to other questions. This question is one which I have

not yet seen either satisfactorily put or answered: viz. what can we collect from scripture simply, respecting the origin and duration of the *Assyrian Empire*; and more particularly whether any light can be gained from scripture, respecting the following important problem proposed by Sir W. Drummond.

"In order to discover," says Sir W. Drummond, "if this indeed be possibly the epoch when the Assyrian empire was founded, we must begin by ascertaining the period of its fall. This event, it is now generally allowed by chronologers, took place in the year 747 before the Christian era. We have Ninus at the beginning of the line, and Sardanapalus at the end. The problem is to determine the duration of the interval, between the time when the former mounted the throne, and the time when the latter descended from it." (Vol. i. p. 224.)

He adds, (p. 227.)

"There can be no doubt, that as Nineveh was twice taken by the Medes, first under the command of Arbaces, in the year 747 before the Christian era; and secondly, under the command of Cyaxares, in the year 603 before the same epoch; the Greeks may have been led into mistakes and contradictions concerning the duration of the Assyrian empire. This empire was in fact dissolved in the time of Arbaces; but as Assyria still existed as a kingdom, and as Nineveh was not destroyed until the reign of Cyaxares; the difference between the state of Assyria before Sardanapalus, and after the death of that monarch, may have escaped the attention of writers, who were not accurately acquainted with oriental history."

And at p. 241. he further observes,

"The Assyrian monarchy was subverted by the Medes in the year 747 before Christ. The Medes retained possession of Assyria during 209 years."

The first observation which I have here to make is that Sir W. Drummond is mistaken in supposing that chronologers are agreed in respect to the subversion of the Assyrian empire in the year 747 before Christ. The learned Jackson, in his *Chronological Antiquities*, so highly applauded by Dr. Hales, positively denies the fact. He observes, Vol. i. p. 303. "Dr. Prideaux, in his *Connection of the Old and New Testaments*, makes Arbaces the same with Tiglath-Pilesir or Tiglath-Pul-Asar, (which is the right name) and Belcesis to be Nabonassar, (or more truly Nabonassar) which is all mere invention, and not founded in any chronology: and it is also absurd; because Arbaces is a Median name, and Tiglath-Pul-Asar is an Assyrian name; and so they could not be the same person. But being sensible from scripture evidence that Media was subject to the king of Assyria, and that there was no king in Media distinct from the king of Assyria to the end of the reign of Sennacherib; he supposes a second defection of the Medes from the Assyrians, and that they revolted from Sennacherib after the



loss of his army in *Judea*, and his return to Nineveh, and set up for themselves a sort of democratical government; but soon growing sick of the confusions which this caused amongst them, they chose Dejoces for their king. This which Dr. Prideaux calls the second defection, was in truth the first, which happened on the death of Sennacherib; and neither Ctesias nor any other ancient historian ever mentioned a second revolt of the Medes; and it is evident from Herodotus, that after the revolt of the Medes from the Assyrians, a few years before they chose Dejoces for their king, they maintained their liberty, and afterwards their kingdom, independent of the Assyrians to the last; to the final destruction of the Assyrian empire, and till they were conquered by Cyrus."

I request attention to Mr. Jackson's arguments in proof of the foregoing statement; they are too long to be transcribed, but the work itself deserves the utmost attention.

I would confine the inquiry now to such scriptural documents as bear on the question between Sir W. Drummond and Mr. Jackson, and which have been either not at all or slightly touched on by either. And I must add, that I have been much pleased with Sir W. Drummond's discernment in estimating the testimonies of profane history, precisely as they deserve to be estimated in respect to remote chronology; and in the deference which he pays to the sacred historians who recorded what they either witnessed or had means of determining. See *Origines*, Vol. II. p. 472, &c.

The inquiry now to be instituted is simply, whether we can collect from scripture any proof that between the year B. C. 747, and the year B. C. 710, when Sennacherib was repulsed, the Assyrians were subject to the Medes or not. Here we obviously turn to the sacred writers who lived and wrote during the period in question, and to Isaiah especially, as writing most largely concerning Assyria itself. It appears then from Isaiah, that in the year B. C. 742 (according to the Bible chronology) the Assyrians had not invaded the west of Asia, but that Ahaz invited them, in order to be delivered from his enemies, the kings of Syria and of Israel. It would almost appear from ch. vii. of Isaiah, that they had not penetrated at all to the west of the Euphrates; for they are described as *now* overflowing the banks of that river, and like a deluge overwhelming all the earth. In ch. viii. 7. accordingly we read, "Now therefore behold the Lord bringeth upon them the waters of the river, strong and many, even the king of Assyria and all his glory: and he shall come up over all his channels, and go over all his banks;

and he shall pass through Judah: he shall overflow and go over; he shall reach even to the neck; and the stretching out of his wings shall fill the breadth of thy land, O Immanuel!" More particularly, in ch. xi. the prophet having described the march of his army to the vicinity of Jerusalem, as Bishop Lowth well observes, and the author of the book of Ecclesiasticus confirms, (ch. xlviii. 18, &c.) it follows in ch. xi. that Hezekiah should by his prayers destroy the king of Assyria (v. 4.) and prepare the way for the kings of the East by drying up the Euphrates, (v. 15, 16). But more particularly still, in ch. xiii. it is predicted that the Medes should be the instruments of the destruction of Nineveh, (v. 17.)

That the prophet intends the empire of Nineveh by Babylon in this chapter, is obvious from the circumstance that he adds, "the Lord of Hosts hath sworn, that I will break the Assyrian in my land." (v. 24, 25)

The Assyrian, therefore, had not been before broken, but was to be broken in Judea by the instrumentality of Hezekiah, as confirmed by Josephus, in relation to the Medes; and in relation to the Babylonians, by the circumstance that after the repulse of Sennacherib the king of Babylon formed an alliance with Hezekiah. (ch. xxxix.) This first separation of Babylon and Media from the Assyrian empire, in effect, destroyed both Babylon and Nineveh, as that eminent divine Joseph Mede observed, and was consequently *predicted* by Isaiah as the fall of Babylon. (Mede on Revel. xiv. 8.) And here I cannot but notice how beautifully the prophets illustrate each other, as in respect to the capture of Babylon by the Medes and Persians, compare Habakkuk, ch. ii. Isaiah ch. xxii. and Daniel ch. v. 23, &c. there needs no comment. Let us now turn to Isaiah ch. xxxvii. 11, &c.; and hear Sennacherib's own account of his own, and of his father's victories. So far from observing any intimation that Nineveh was subject to Media, during the interval in question, I rather see intimations both in Isaiah and elsewhere to the very contrary. In 2 Kings xviii. 11, we are informed that "the king of Assyria did carry away Israel into Assyria, and put them in Halah and in Habor by the river of Gozan, and in the cities of the Medes." This event is placed in the year B. C. 726. Neither should we pass by the record of Tobit relating to a period after the building of *Echatane*, for it speaks of the fall of Nineveh as then future. (ch. xiv. 4.) For Tobit could not have been led captive before the Assyrians penetrated into the Holy Land by the instigation of Ahaz, that is, before the year B. C. 741. (Isaiah viii. 7.) In his time

then, that is, after the year 741, Nineveh was not destroyed, but Tobit lived to hear of its capture.

I have now opened my first question on ancient chronology, and request the opinions of your learned correspondents on the statements of scripture respecting the time of the fall of Nineveh; which event, as far as I see, did not in any sense take place till the repulse of Sennacherib. Mr. Gregory, in his *Tracts*, printed in 1665, has given perhaps the best introduction to the history of the Assyrian empire. It contains the original documents without hypothesis.

In respect to the duration of the Assyrian empire under Nineveh, a question which Sir W. Drummond considers as depending on that already proposed, viz. when did the capture of Nineveh take place; I beg leave to offer a few thoughts. Formidable as the question appears, from the number and antiquity of the authors referred to, as well as from their not being easy to be met with, Sir W. Drummond classes them under two leaders, of whom he considers all the rest as followers. These two are Ctesias and Herodotus.

"The duration (he observes, p. 222) of the Assyrian monarchy has been differently stated by almost every ancient author who has mentioned the subject. Herodotus has assigned to it 520 years; Ctesias upwards of 1360 years, or upwards of 1300 years according to the varying testimony of Diodorus Siculus."

Again, he observes, p. 223:

"We know from the book of Genesis, that Nineveh (the habitation of Ninus) was built in the time of Nimrod; and it is impossible therefore to suppose, that Ninus did not live until thirteen generations after Nimrod. That Nimrod and Belus were the same, and that Ninus was the son of this primeval monarch, I have already proved from various authorities, and more may be found in the pages of the ancient chronographers."

At page 255, he observes:

"Upon the whole then, I am inclined to believe that the text of Ctesias had been much corrupted by the copyists; that in the case which we are considering, different statements of the numbers of years had been introduced into the different copies; that this circumstance has chiefly occasioned the variety of accounts which we have received from those authors who have taken Ctesias for their guide."

"We have now (he adds, p. 256,) to consider the testimony of Herodotus, a testimony which must be estimated as important since it comes from him; and which, if it be accurate, appears to overthrow that of all the writers whose calculations we have been hitherto examining. The Assyrians, says the father of history, had been masters of Upper Asia for 520 years, when the Medes were the first to rebel. (L. i. 95.) Among the followers of Ctesias, Cephalaion, who reckoned 1013 years, to the commencement of the reign of Sardanapalus, has given the lowest estimate of the duration of the Assyrian empire. It

seems therefore impossible to reconcile the account of Herodotus with that of Ctesias; and yet unless this be done, one of the most important questions in ancient chronology can never be decided. Neither of these two authorities can be rejected without creating objections which cannot be vanquished."

At p. 261, he further observes, that M. Larcher supposes that Herodotus speaks only of the most flourishing state of the Assyrian empire; which supposition of M. Larcher he rejects perhaps a little too hastily. My reason for thinking that he has done so, is this,—that at p. 276, he himself supposes that

"Chedarlaomer, king of Elam, accompanied by three confederate, or rather tributary kings;—Amraphel, king of Shinar; Arioch, king of Ellas; and Tidal, king of Nations;—invaded Palestine in the year 1916 before Christ."

Chedarlaomer he supposes to have been the monarch called Gem-Shid by the Persians; the king of Shinar he decyphers to have been Belus or Nimrod, at that time a vassal of the great monarch of Iran. For *slaughter* in Genesis xiv. 17. he substitutes *smiting*. It is observable also, that Isaiah in ch. xli. plainly refers to the battle of kings in predicting the fall of the Assyrian empire by means of Cypus, who like Abraham, should come from the East, and be representative of the Gentiles as Abraham also had been. But what are the reflections which naturally suggest themselves to the mind when we read of Abraham and his few domestics and herdsmen defeating the great king of Iran? Is it not natural to suppose, that whatever proud and lofty names their posterity gave to such kings, and whatever conquests they attributed to them, their forces were very insignificant, and the space which they occupied exceedingly small? If Media was even colonised at that time, how could the conquest of a few colonists have amounted to the foundation of a real empire, of which Media could be considered by an intelligent historian like Herodotus, as forming a part? Or even if then subdued, might it not have been lost and won repeatedly after the days of Amraphel?

Is there then any thing unreasonable in reconciling Ctesias and Herodotus by the supposition that Ctesias followed the Chaldean history of their own kings, and their exploits *ab ovo*; while Herodotus dated the Assyrian empire from the time when it became possible, by the multiplication of the human species, for what an unprejudiced person would admit to be an empire, to have any existence? But even supposing the marvellous histories of Belus and Ninus to have been perfectly true, might not the Assyrians have lost again the countries which they conquered under their founders; and not have recovered them so as

that they should form a permanent part of their empire, until the time from which Herodotus dates the Assyrian empire in Upper Asia? Likewise, do we certainly know the extent of territory intended by Herodotus by the expression *Upper Asia*, or whether he meant by it the whole or part of Upper Asia? Are we sure that he did not intend Media especially as the complement of Upper Asia?

If we now descend the stream of time from Abraham, it is a fair inquiry whether the Phenicians, the sons of Anak, were not, until the days of Joshua, a nation that claimed empire more than the Assyrians could do so? The Israelites likewise, and the Syrians remained undisturbed in their possessions to the west of the Euphrates till the days of Abaz. See 1 Kings, iv. 21.

I must own, I cannot see the difficulty of which Sir W. Drummond complains in reconciling Ctesias and Herodotus; for M. Larcher seems to me to have removed the whole difficulty.

I must add, that I felt much interested in Sir W. Drummond's identification of Nimrod and Amraphel. I have long suspected that one chief objection against the Hebrew chronology originated in magnifying the achievements of Nimrod; and by consequence, concluding that the Hebrew chronology did not allow time sufficient for the multiplication of the human race, in order to the achievement of such works as the tower of Babel. The authors of the Universal History appear to be right in maintaining that mankind, according to scripture, did not disperse till the confusion of tongues at Babel. Probably they raised a tower in the plain of Shinar as a land-mark, in order that they might find their way home, when they made their excursions in hunting.

I speak with diffidence on a subject to which I have attended only as a *πάρεργον*; but I must add, that the impression which has been made on my mind in perusing all the systems of chronology, which oppose that of the Hebrew text, is that they are clogged with much greater difficulties than that of those who adhere to it. Difficulties there are in the Hebrew chronology; but in what question, concerning which we feel ever so decided and satisfied, are there not difficulties, however we may not perceive or acknowledge them? The preponderation of arguments causes the assent of the judicious in a degree corresponding to the preponderation; and he who waits for certainty till he assents,

*Rusticus expectat dum defluat annis.*

Sir W. Drummond has much confirmed me in my conviction

that if the scriptures were more closely inspected, and profane historians classified like manuscripts under their prototypes, the subject would be much simplified, and some certain grounds taken possession of, which might command other posts, which in their turn might command others, till truth should be ascertained in relation to the leading and important questions in chronology.

I would only suggest one other source of information on this subject to those who believe that all scripture is given by inspiration of God; and this is, that the types in scripture may often be real histories. I propose then for consideration, by way of specimen, whether the eleventh chapter of the Apocalypse be not in type the chronology of Christ's ministry; and whether the 12th, 13th, and 14th chapters of the same book, be not the history in type of the family of Abraham sojourning in Egypt, and expelling the Canaanites, in ch. xii. and in ch. xiii. as opposed by the Assyrian empire; and in ch. xiv. as destroying that empire both in its Assyrian and Babylonian branches. If so, it is probable that 1260 years are there allotted to the duration of the Assyrian empire from its first dawn to the commencement of its fall.<sup>1</sup>

Sir W. Drummond has likewise my thanks for proving that we have been too much disposed to underrate the wisdom of Egypt, *as recorded in Scripture*. We have indeed made great attainments in some subordinate branches of science; but nevertheless I much question whether we have not lost as much ground in those sciences which form the trunk and pillar of the most valuable knowledge both divine and human; but this enquiry I reserve for a future opportunity. I have only to repeat, that I shall feel obliged to your correspondents, if they think me mistaken in any of the positions proposed in this paper, to set me right, and likewise to contribute their efforts to the determining of the important question which I have proposed.

I. M. B.

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<sup>1</sup> Irenæus observes on the thirteenth chapter of the Apocalypse, that the account there of the image and the number plainly refers to the image which Nebuchadnezzar set up. If we carefully analyze sacred prophecy, we shall find it to consist of homogeneous histories, concealing each other as the coats of an onion envelope and hide one another. If we trace for instance, the subject of the third chapter of Genesis, through the Bible, we shall prove the truth of Lord Bacon's maxim, that prophecies are repeatedly fulfilled in *specimen*, till they are completed in *perfection*. See Bp. Sherlock's masterly Lectures on Prophecy

## NUGÆ.

No. XIII.—[Continued from No. LXIV.]

collecting toys  
And trifles for choice matters, worth a sponge ;  
As children gathering pebbles on the shore.  
Paradise Regained, iv. 325.

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**A** Correspondent in a former number disusses the question, whether in the passage of Claudian, de Cons. Prob. et Olyb. 16.

Nec quisquam procerum tentet, licet ære vetusto  
Floreat, et claro cingatur Roma senatu,  
Se jactare parem ———

*Floreat* is to be referred to *Roma*, or to the *quisquam procerum*. The latter construction may be defended by the following passage from the same author, which, though not exactly parallel, contains the same species of inelegance.

Sentiet iratam procul ægida, sentiet ictum  
Fulminis, et genitum divina sorte pibeat,  
Optabitque mori :

so Ovid, Met. x. 371.

Et modo desperat, modò vult tentare ; pudetque,  
Et cupit ; et quod agat non invenit.

Compare Addison, Πυγμαίον στρατομαχία :

Jamque dies Pygmæo aderat, quo tempore cæsi  
Pœnituit fœtus, intactaque maluit ova :

unless indeed Addison mistook *pœnituit* for a personal verb ; which is not at all improbable, for Addison's Latinity, though easy and flowing to an exemplary degree, is far from being minutely correct, as this very passage evinces.<sup>1</sup>

Every one remembers the irrefragable argument by which Dr. Slop confounded my uncle Toby's scepticism relative to the seven sacraments : “ Are there not seven planets ? seven days of the week ? seven golden candlesticks ? ” Perhaps the Doctor had read a certain passage in Plutarch's dialogue *περὶ τοῦ ΕΙ*, where one of the speakers endeavors to prove, by a similar ad-

<sup>1</sup> So also his versification :

Qua Solis tepet ortu, primitiisque diei.  
————— atque immortalia dona capessunt.  
Vindex a tergo implacabile sævit.

duction of particulars, the peculiar mystery and importance attaching to the number five.

A writer in the seventeenth century speaks of "cawses (causes) *uncartable*, and pavements impracticable;" the Greek ἀναμάξευτος. Our language formerly approached nearer to the Greek in its power of compounding words than at present.

Taylor's Holy Dying, chap. v. sect. 8. "I remember my own and my friend's need," i. e. intimacy; a singular usage, after the Latin *necessitudo*. Another occurs in one of his sermons, Vol. v. p. 446, ed. Heber, "if naturalists say true, that *nephews* (nepotes) are very often liker to their grandfathers than to their fathers."

Cic. Tusc. Disp. 111. 11. Bifariam quatuor perturbationes æqualiter distributæ sunt. Nam duo sunt ex opinione boni; quarum altera voluptas gestiens, id est, præter modum elata lætitia opinione præsentis magni alicujus boni: altera cupiditas, &c. Ergo hæc duo genera, voluptas gestiens et libido, bonorum opinione turbantur. *Turbare* is here used as ταραξαι. Soph. Antig. 805.

σὺ καὶ τὸδε νεῖκος ἀνδρῶν  
ξύγκειμον ἔχεις ταραξίας.

The following passages deserve to be noticed, as instances of an uncommon construction.

Hic specus horrendum, sævi spiracula Ditis,  
Monstratur. Virg. Æn. vii. 569.

(Some of the old editions have,  
Hic specus horrendum, et sævi spiracula Ditis  
Monstrantur.)

———— raptos obliqua per ungues  
Porrigitur radix, longi firmamina trunci.  
Ov. Met. x. 490.

———— Erat ardua turis  
Arce patens summa, fessis loca grata carinis.  
Ib. xi. 392.

## PARALLEL PASSAGES.

I. Cic. Tusc. Disp. i. 21. Præclarum nescio quod adepti sunt, qui didicerunt, se, cum tempus mortis venisset, totos esse  
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perituros. Quod ut ita sit (nihil enim pugno), quid habet ista res aut lætabile aut gloriosum? Hence Bolingbroke, word for word: "The ancient and modern Epicureans provoke my indignation when they boast, as a mighty acquisition, their pretended certainty that the body and soul die together." If they *had* this certainty, could the discovery be so very comfortable?"

### II. Æsch. Prom. 101.

————— 'πάντα προῦξεπίσταμαι  
σκεθρῶς τὰ μέλλοντ', οὐδέ μοι ποταίνιον .  
πῆμ' οὐδὲν ἤξει.

### Virg. Æn. vi. 103.

————— Non ulla laborum,  
O virgo, nova mî facies inopinave surgit :  
Omnia præcepi, atque animo mecum ante peregi.

### III. Claudian. de Raptu Pros. ii. 198.

————— Torrentius amne  
Hyberno, tortaque ruunt perniciosus hasta :  
Quantum non jaculum Parthi, non impetus Austri,  
Non leve sollicitæ mentis discurrit acumen.

Thus a late poet illustrates the flight of an enchanted boat :

Revolt of Islam, xii.

————— like the arrowy cloud  
Of tempest, or the winged thought of man,  
That flieth forth and cannot make abode.

IV. Cic. Tusc. Disp. iii. 6. Nec absurde Crantor,—Mimne, inquit, assentior his, qui istam nescio quam indolentiam magno opere laudant : quæ nec potest esse, nec debet.—Nam istuc *nihil dolere* non sine magna mercede contingit, immanitatis in animo, stuporis in corpore. Thus Pope :

In lazy apathy let stoics boast  
Their virtue fix'd : 'tis fix'd as in a frost ;  
Contracted all, retiring to the breast ; &c.

### V. Ov. Met. xii. 157:

Non illos citharæ, non illos carmina vocum,  
Longave multifori delectat tibia buxi :  
Sed noctem sermone trahunt ; virtusque loquendi  
Materia est.

Hence perhaps Milton, *Paradise Lost*, 11. 555.

———— In discourse more sweet  
(For eloquence the soul, song charms the sense)  
Others apart sat on a hill retir'd,  
In thoughts more elevate, and reason'd high  
Of providence, &c.

Milton's partiality for Ovid is well known. It is not impossible that the passage in the same book of the *Metamorphoses*, where the Centaurs attempt to overwhelm the invulnerable Cæneus with uprooted rocks and trees, was in Milton's mind when he represented the angelic army as resorting to the same means of defence against the new-invented artillery of Satan: the occasion is similar, and the descriptions bear some resemblance to each other.

Compare *Paradise Lost*, vi. 634. sqq.

Saxa, trabesque super, totosque involvite montes,  
Vivacemque animam missis elidite sylvis.

\* \* \* \* \*

Obrutus inmani cumulo, sub pondere Cæneus  
Æstuat arboreo, congestaque robora duris  
Pert humeris: sed enim postquam super ora caputque  
Crevit enus, neque habet quas ducat spiritus auras,  
Deficit interdum: modo se super aera frustra  
Tollere conatur, jactasque evolvere sylvas;  
Interdumque movet: veluti quam cernimus (ecce)  
Ardua si terræ quatiatur motibus Ide.

VI. Pseudovidii Consolatio ad Liviam Aug. 113.

Congelat interdum lacrymas, duratque, tenetque,  
Suspensasque oculus fortius intus agit.  
Erumpunt, iterumque gravant gremiumque sinusque,  
Effusæ gravidis uberibusque genis.  
In vires abiit flendi mora: plenior unda  
Defluit, exigua siqua retenta mora.

We have here the original of an admired passage of Lord Byron, which is indeed little more than a paraphrase of the two first lines. Lord Byron possessed in a high degree the faculty of *transmitting* the thoughts and images of others, invested with new and brilliant colors.

Parisina, ad fin.

The deepest ice that ever froze  
Can only o'er the surface close;

The living stream lies quick below,  
 And flows, and cannot cease to flow.  
 Still was his seal'd-up bosom haunted  
 With thoughts which Nature hath implanted;  
 Too deeply rooted there to vanish,  
 Howe'er our stifled tears we banish;  
 When, struggling as they rise to start,  
 We check those waters of the heart,  
 They are not dried: those tears unshed  
 But flow back to the fountain-head,  
 And resting in their spring more pure,  
 For ever in its depths endure,  
 Unseen, unwept, but uncongeal'd,  
 And cherish'd most where least reveal'd.

A few more instances of similar adoptions in our English poets, though not from the ancients, may amuse the reader.

1. Marlowe's Faustus.

Oh! if my soul must suffer for my sin,  
 Impose some end to my incessant pains:  
 Let Faustus live in hell a thousand years,  
 A hundred thousand, and at last be sav'd.—  
 Why wert thou not a creature wanting soul?  
 Or why is this immortal that thou hast?  
 All beasts are happy, for whene'er they die,  
 Their souls are soon dissolv'd in elements;  
 But mine must live still to be plagued in hell.

Young's Last Day.

Could I have sinn'd, if I had never been,  
 But still increas'd the senseless happy mass,  
 Flow'd in the stream, or shiver'd in the grass?  
 Father of mercies! why from silent earth  
 Didst thou awake, and curse me into birth?  
 \* \* \* \* \*  
 The beasts are happy; they are born, and keep  
 Short watch on earth, and then lie down and sleep;  
 Pain is for man.  
 \* \* \* \* \*

←————— Oh grant—at least  
 This one, this little, almost no request:—  
 When I have rav'd ten thousand years in fire,  
 Ten thousand thousand, let me then expire.

2. Massinger's Duke of Milan, Act. v. Sc. 1.

Why couldst thou think ———  
 ——— that I tamely would sit down, before  
 I had dried these eyes, still wet with showers of tears,  
 By the fire of my revenge?

Campbell's Gertrude, St. ult.

——— to-morrow thou  
 In glory's fires shalt dry thy tears. .

3. Ariosto, Satire.

Mal può durar il rosignuolo in gabbia ;  
 Più vi 'sta 'l cardellino, e più il fanello ;  
 La rondine in un dì vi muor di rabbia.

Scott.

The captive thrush may brook the cage ;  
 The prison'd eagle dies for rage.

4. Chaucer's Troilus and Creseide, 1. St. 3.

——— If this may done gladnesse  
 To any lover, and his cause availe,  
 Have he my thanke,<sup>1</sup> and mine be the travaile.

Childe Harold, ad fin.

——— with him alone may rest the pain,  
 If such there be—with you, the moral of his strain.

5. Titus Andronicus, Act. iv. Sc. 4.

The eagle suffers little birds to sing,  
 And is not careful what they mean thereby ;  
 Knowing that with the shadow of his wings  
 He can at pleasure stint their melody.

Thus the eagle in Scott, (Lady of the Lake, 111.)

With his broad shadow on the lake,  
 Silenced the warblers of the brake.

(Statius has a forcible expression :

——— Non segnius ardens  
 Incurrit Tydeus, quam flammiger ales olori  
 Imminet, et magna trepidum circumligat umbra.)

<sup>1</sup> i. e. the profits of my labor.

6. Coleridge's *Zapolya*.

— O for a sleep  
For sleep itself to rest in!

Jeremy Taylor's *Sermon of Godly Fear*, Vol. v. p. 134. ed. Heber.

They make their rest weary and chargeable, and they still vex their weary soul, not considering, that there is no other sleep for sleep to rest in.

This last is to be numbered among unintentional plagiarisms. It is thus that memory is sometimes confounded with imagination, where the mind of the later writer is fertile in original conceptions, and the image in question is such as to be easily mistaken for the native growth of his fancy. The above is a favorite mode of speaking with Taylor. Thus in his *Sermons*, Vol. II. p. 43. ed. Jerment. "The eye of heaven, and the eye of that eye, God himself;" (compare p. 75.) Vol. III. p. 177. "the notion of a notion." *Holy Dying*, chap. 1. sect. IV. § 7. "Men's joys are troublesome, and the fear of losing them takes away the present pleasure, and a man had need of another felicity to preserve this."

VII. *Miltoniana*.

In the editions of *Paradise Lost*, printed during Milton's life-time, a peculiar, and, as it would seem, in some measure systematic mode of spelling is observable, which has been but little, if at all, noticed by his editors and critics, unless in the case of particular words, the orthography of which, from its effect on the metre, it was impossible to overlook. The arguments in favor of its being systematic, are, first, that several of the peculiarities are pretty uniformly preserved; secondly, that the reasons of them are in some cases evident; thirdly, that they agree to a great extent with the orthography of his earlier publications, in which, as having been printed under the author's own eye, the supposition of carelessness or ignorance in an amanuensis or a corrector of the press is inadmissible; fourthly, that among the list of errata prefixed to one of the earliest editions, (the second, we believe) the following occurs: "Lib. 1. v. 76", for *hundreds* read *hunderds*;" the errata specified being only thirteen in number, with a notice subjoined: "Other literal faults the reader of himself may correct;" clearly implying that the errors actually noticed are either such as the reader, if left to himself, might be liable to consider as no errors at all, or

such as, knowing them to be errors, he might be unable to rectify for want of knowing the true reading. The erratum in question belonged, of course, to the former class; whence it follows that the spelling of *hunderds* was intentional.<sup>1</sup> As many of these singularities of orthography are traceable to the Latin, Greek, or Hebrew etymology of the words, it will not be altogether foreign to our design to set down such as have occurred to us worthy of notice, particularising such as are so traceable. Such a collection will not be regarded as uninteresting, when it is recollected that Milton had devoted considerable attention to the philology of his own language, as is apparent from his various writings. We have omitted innumerable varieties of spelling, which are evidently either errors of the press, or referable to the orthography of that period, as *joyn*, *steddy*, *brest*; *o're* for *o'er*, &c.

In the advertisement prefixed to the poem, he defines the measure to be, "English heroic verse without *rime*;" on the other hand, Book 1. v. 16. "Things unattempted yet in prose or *rhime*," i. e. verse in the abstract, from *ῥυμός*; *rime* being derived immediately from the Italian *rima*. Thus a correspondent of our own, in a valuable paper on the Horatian Alcaic verse, scruples not to speak of Horace "building the Alcaic rhyme." In the same advertisement we have *meeter* for *metre*, apparently on the principle of accommodating orthography to pronunciation; the double *e* occurring again in *eev'ning* or *eev'ning* for *evening*, and *austeer* for *austere*, and the transposition *er* for *re* being found in *hunderds* above-mentioned, *massacher* for *massacre*, xi. 675, and *chiltern* for *children*.

Book 1. v. 92, *highth* from *high*, as *length* from *long*, &c. *highthn'd*, v. 126. vi. 629, and Arg. to iv. *despare*, probably an error, for it is usually printed *despair*: v. 157, *cherube*, perhaps to intimate that the latter syllable is long in the original: v. 247, *fardest* for *furthest*, and elsewhere *furder*; so ii. 934,

<sup>1</sup> In the same table of errata we find, "Lib. ii. v. 414, for *we* read *wee*;" but as *wee* is the common orthography of Milton's age, (or rather of the age in which he first became a writer) we have not adduced it as an instance in point. One other error is worth noticing: "Lib. i. v. 25, for *th' Eternal* Providence, read *Eternal*."—Milton's meaning, like that of many other of our poets, has suffered by passing through a succession of editors, variously qualified, and in various ages of our versatile language: the injury, however, has been less than might have been expected, considering the abstruseness of his manner and matter. This exemplary accuracy of style has been of service to him in this particular, preserving him tolerably unimpaired even by the ordeal of a cheap pocket edition.

*fadom*: v. 248, *equald* for *equal'd*, omitting the intervening sign as useless; so *regcind*, *markd*, *gatherd*, &c. not however in cases where the *d* is changed to *t*, as *ceas'd*, *intrans't* (entranc'd), *overarch't*, &c.: v. 294, *ammi'al*, according to etymology: v. 316, *warriers*; so *inventa*, *instructer*, *persecuter*: v. 752, *haralds* for *heralds*: v. 766, *carreer*, according to the derivation.

Book II. v. 332, *voutsaf't* for *vouchsaf'd*: v. 491, *lantskip* for *landscape*: v. 504, *anow* for *enow*, and elsewhere *anough*, a pronunciation not yet obsolete: v. 533, *warr*; so *farr*, *demurr*, *inferr*, &c.: v. 1046, *leasure*; qu. from *laxatura*?

Book III. v. 203, *don* for *done*; so *gon*.

Book IV. v. 295, *autoritie*: v. 306, *disshevel'd*, according to the etymology: v. 544, *alablaster*, now a vulgarism, but, like most vulgarisms, a relic of the old language; in Milton, however, it is probably an erratum: v. 561, *cours* for *course*; so *vers*, *eclips*, *Apocalyps*, *unwers*, *desperat*, *brigad*, &c. In Milton's earlier publications, so far as we remember, this mode of spelling is uniformly observed; in the present he is less consistent; v. 577, *perfet* for *perfect*; so *counterfet*, *surfet*: v. 960, *servilly* from *servil*; so *kostil*, XI. 792.

Book V. v. 344, *meathes* for *meads* (the liquor so called), according to the ancient pronunciation.

Book VI. v. 368, *gastly* for *ghastly*: v. 826, *wrauth* for *wrath*.

Book VII. v. 787, (VIII. 150, for in this edition the poem is divided into ten books) *femal* for *female*, etymologically.

Book VIII. (IX.) 29, *maistrie* for *mastery*; so *maister*: v. 35, *impreses* for *impresses* (noun), as in the Italian.

Book IX. (X.) 656, the *blanc* Moone.

Book X. (XI.) 268, *unexspected*, a curious erratum: v. 407, *Motezume*, the true orthography: v. 647 (651), which *tacks* a bloody fray; vulg. *makes*: v. 739 (743) *ceeling*.

We conclude with a few remarks on particular passages, which occurred to us in the way.

Argument to Book I. "That angels were long before this visible creation, was the opinion of many ancient Fathers." So in his lately discovered work *De Doctrina Christiana*, translation, p. 187, "Many at least of the Greek, and some of the Latin Fathers, are of opinion that angels, as being spirits, must have existed long before this material world." To the passages quoted in the note (*ibid.*) the above might have been added.

Book II. Argument, "that prophesie or tradition in Heaven concerning another world and another kind of creature

equall or not much inferior to themselves about this time to be created." *Thou hast made him a little lower than the angels.*

Book iv. v. 561, sqq. The insertion of a parenthesis seems necessary to restore the true construction of these lines :

Gabriel, (to thee thy course by lot hath giv'n  
Charge and strict watch<sup>1</sup> that to this happy place  
No evil thing approach or enter in)  
This day at highth of noon came to my sphear  
A spirit, &c.

as in the classical writers :

Æole, (namque tibi divum pater atque hominum rex  
Et mulcere dedit fluctus et tollere vento)  
Gens inimica, &c.

and sometimes without the *nam*. V. 592,

———— the prime orb,

Incredible how swift, had thither roll'd :  
is this the θαυμαστόν ὄσον of the Greeks?

Book v. v. 239 sqq.

———— what enemy

Late tallu himself from Heaven, is plotting now  
The fall of others from like state of bliss;  
By violence, no, for that shall be withstood,  
But by deceit and lies.

In the common editions :

By violence ? no, &c.

which is doubtless the true reading : it is remarkable, however, that the sentence, as pointed in the old edition, appears like an imitation of a well-known Grecism: βίᾳ μὲν οὐ, (ταύτῃ γὰρ οὐκ ἔξεσται.) ἀπάτῃ δὲ καὶ ψεύδεσιν. It is remarkable that Landon (whose English prose is more impregnated with classical idioms than any since the time of Milton) should have employed the particle *no* in this conjunction, exactly after the Greek fashion: "Would you disclose to Edipus, &c." "*To him no ; but,*" &c. (τούτῳ μὲν οὐ), Dialogue between John Home and David Hume ; thus transmuting, as it were, an English colloquial form into a Greek idiom. Here an ordinary editor would interpolate a note of interrogation between *him* and *no*.

Book vi. v. 195 sqq. are pointed :

———— as if on earth

Winds under ground or waters forcing way , ,

---

<sup>1</sup> i. e. the charge of strict watch ; a Latinism.



Sidelong, had push'd a mountain from his seat  
Half sunk with all his pines.

In the common editions :

\_\_\_\_\_ forcing way,

Sidelong had push'd, &c.

v. 464 sqq.

\_\_\_\_\_ He who therefore can invent

With what, &c. \_\_\_\_\_

\_\_\_\_\_ to me deserves

No less than for deliverance what we owe.

To me, i. e. in my opinion ; a Grecism.

Book 1x. (x.) v. 927,

\_\_\_\_\_ on me exercise not

Thy hatred \_\_\_\_\_

It seems likely that Milton pronounced *exercise not* ; otherwise the flow of the verse will be scarcely Miltonian. So x. 1385 (x1. 494),

\_\_\_\_\_ against such cruelties

With inward consolations *recompenc't*,

And oft supported so as shall amaze

Their proudest *persecuters*.

Book 1x. (x.) v. 299, "the roots of hell : " *ταρτάρου ῥίζαι*, Hesiod. Theog.

Book x. (x1.) v. 689.

\_\_\_\_\_ shall be held the highest pitch

Of human glorie, and for glorie done

Of triumph \_\_\_\_\_

*Glory* is here used in the same double sense as *laus* ; a glorious or praiseworthy deed :

\_\_\_\_\_ fastigia summa

Dicentur laudis, proque acta laude triumphi.

v. 785,

First seen in acts of prowess eminent

And great exploits \_\_\_\_\_

seen, i. e. *spectati*, distinguished : v. 813,

Of them derided, but of God *observ'd*

The one just man alive \_\_\_\_\_

*observatus*, regarded with honor and favor.

In the Penserioso, where the common editions read,

“ Nor let my due feet ever fail

To walk the studious cloisters pale,

it has been contended that the true reading is “ the studious cloister’s pale ; ” the error having originated in the sign of the

genitive being omitted, as usual in old writing. This conjecture is supported by an analogous passage in Dr. Joseph Beaumont's *Psyche*, Canto xvi. Stanza cxxxvi. where, speaking of the miraculous gift of tongues, he says,

They (the apostles) spake ; but hampered and scanted now

No longer in the Syrian speeches pale ;

All sounds to them in champagne lay ;

i. e. in the pale of the Syrian speech. Milton, moreover, would have preferred the singular, *cloister* ; nor is the epithet *pale* sufficiently defined for his style of writing.

## REMARKS ON *The PHŒNICIAN and PUNIC Languages, and their relation to the Hebrew.*

(From Gesenius's *Geschichte der Hebräischen Sprache und Schrift*.)

IN the total decay of the Phœnicio-Punic literature,<sup>1</sup> we have nothing left for the critical examination of these languages, but 1st, insulated words found in old authors, especially the greater passage in *Plautus* ; (*Pæn.* Act. v. sc. 1. 2). 2d, Inscriptions and coins found principally in Phœnician colonies : 3d, Proper names of persons and places, so far as they have an appellative signification and etymology in the language of the country. On each of these sources in particular.

1. Of the Phœnicio-Punic glosses in old authors,<sup>2</sup> scarcely the half can be recognised in the Hebrew, and as little can be

<sup>1</sup> It was perhaps not insignificant, at least *Pliny* (H. N. xviii. 5), makes mention of libraries at Carthage. Of Phœnician authors we can name as historians, *Sanchuniathon* (comp. *Bocharti Chanaan*, cap. 17.) ; *Moschus* (*Jos. Antiq.* i. 3. *Strabo* 16. p. 757) ; *Theodotus* (*Tatiani Orat.* c. *Gent.* no. 37) ; and *Dios* (*Jos. Apion.* i. 17). Of the Carthaginians, *Mago* on husbandry (*Plin.* loco cit.) ; and *Hanno*, author of *Periplus*. Compare *Liv.* xxviii. 46, concerning the *Ara Hannibalis*, in the temple of Juno Lacinia, on which his deeds were described in the Punic and Greek languages.

<sup>2</sup> They were first collected alphabetically by *Bernh. Aldrete Antiquid. Españ.* p. 180 ff., and afterwards more completely according to the authors, (from *Sanchuniathon* down to the fathers of the church and the grammarians) by *Bochart* (*Chanaan.* ii. 2—16.).

pointed out in another dialect, which may be explained from the following causes.

1. Almost all the accounts proceed from writers who were themselves ignorant of the Phœnician, and who have borrowed their remarks from others, which they have mostly misunderstood. In languages with which they themselves, and most readers were unacquainted, the old authors made no scruple to give explanations of words at a venture.<sup>1</sup>

Thus the *Etym. M.* explains βητάγων (בֵּית דָּגוֹן) by Κρόνος (instead of οἶκος Κρόνου); γάλωνες (i. e. largeships of the Phœnicians) by περιφραγμα (i. e. γάδεια, גָּדִיר); σινδών by, of Sidon. According to *Servius*, byrsa is the Phœnician for leather, (*Dido*, i. q. *virago*, the latter according to *Etym. M.* πλανήτις, (all evidently only conjecture).

2. The words have been altered and disfigured so much, partly by authors themselves, and partly by transcribers to whom they were unknown, that it is difficult to guess them even when the objects themselves are known. 3. The corresponding Hebrew word may be lost to us. 4. In the Punic we must particularly consider, that it has doubtless received many foreign ingredients from the Libyan language.<sup>2</sup> 5. Some words have also been considered as Punic, which are more probably ancient Ægyptic, and to be explained from the Coptic.<sup>3</sup>

The following are a number of Phœnician and Punic glosses, of which the deciphering is plain. The latter are marked with an asterisk.

Ἀλά, ἱρέα <i>Hesych.</i> (אֵל תַּל- mud).	<i>ad h. l.</i>
* Ἀδωνίς (אֲדוֹנִי) δεσπότης. <i>Hesych.</i>	* Ἀλφα (אֶלְפָּה) βῆς. <i>Plut. Quæst. Sympos.</i> 9. §. 2.
<i>Alma</i> (עֲלֵמָה) <i>virgo.</i> <i>Hieron.</i>	Ἀδωνίς, * <i>Avo domni</i> , (אֲדוֹנִי)
<i>in Jes.</i> vii.	אֲדוֹנִי, the Punic salutation, <i>Meleagri Epigr.</i> iii. 25. no. 70. <i>Plaut.</i> v. 2. 34, 38.
* <i>Alon</i> (עֲלִיָּה) <i>Deus.</i> <i>Plur.</i>	Ἀταδῖμ, (אֲטָדִימ) ῥάμνος, <i>Dioscorid.</i>
<i>Alonim</i> , Fem. <i>Alonith.</i> <i>Plaut. Pæn.</i> v. 1. 1. <i>Conf. Sisenna</i>	

<sup>1</sup> Comp. *Philo*, p. 23, 2.

<sup>2</sup> *Walton, Prolegom.* iii. 14. Thus *Mapalia*, *Magalia*, (Nomadic tents) which according to *Festus* is Punic, is in fact more probably Numidian. Comp. *Faber's Antiquities of the Hebrews*, p. 110.

<sup>3</sup> For instance, the African names of plants in *Dioscorides* and *Apuleius*, *Bochart* loc. cit. c. 15. on the contrary *Rossi Etymologia Ægypt.* u. d. d. W. W.

\* *Baal, dominus. Baal-Samin, dominus cœli, Augustin. ad Jud. 16. Comp. Plaut. v. 2. 67. and*

*Βελσαμῆν, κύριος οὐρανοῦ. Philo Bybl. ap. Euseb. præp. Evang. l. 10. Comp. Assemani Bibl. Orient. t. 111. p. 327*

*Βάκχος (בכּוּח), κλαυθμός, Hesych.*

\* *Chanani (כנעני), Phœnix. Augustin.*

\* *Chasimezara (קשא מישרדא) carnis sylvaticus, Apulei. de Philol. Virtutibus, 113.*

*חשמיזארה (חשמיזארה) Rabb. אדס*

*חשמיזארה (חשמיזארה) ad Pl. 130.*

*חשמיזארה (חשמיזארה) Philo*

*חשמיזארה (חשמיזארה) et*

*חשמיזארה (חשמיזארה) ad Dom.*

*חשמיזארה (חשמיזארה) Philo Bybl. ap. Euseb. præp. Evang. iv. 16.*

*חשמיזארה (חשמיזארה) Jerodot. 11. 111.*

*חשמיזארה (חשמיזארה) variation is noticed.*

*חשמיזארה (חשמיזארה) et*

*nap. (vita Pythagoræ) ap. Photium.*

*Mammon (ממון), lucrum. Augustin. de Sermone Domini in Monte, 11. 22.*

*Μεμρόνιος (ממרון) ὑψουράνιος. Philo Bybl.*

\* *Messias (משיח) unctus. August. contra Petil. 11. 104.*

*Μούρ (מות) θάνατος, Πλούτων, Philo Bybl. loc. cit.*

*Νεσιβίς (נציבי) λίθοι συγκαίμενοι. Steph. Byz.*

\* *Rufen (רפאים) medici. Plaut. Pæn. v. 2. 46.*

*Σαλαμ (שלום), as a saluta-*

*tion. Anthol. G. 111.*

*Salutus (שלש) tres. August.*

*ad Epist. ad Rom. 7. 3.*

*Salutes, etis (שופט) consul,*

*aut. ap. Festum, Inscr.*

*Σαλαμ (צדיק) δίκαιος. Philo Bybl. loc. cit.*

*Σαλαμ (שורן) λείρια. Etym.*

*Σαλαμ (צופי שמים) ὑψουράνιος. Philo Bybl.*

*Θωρ (שור, Syr. תור) βοῦς.*

*Plut. Sylla.*

In the Punic we may observe a great inclination for obscure vowels, viz. the vowels *u* and *i*, and that the *γ* is mostly expressed by *u*. For example, *Suffetes*, *Suffes*, *Rufen*. Comp. *Guddud*, *Muthuiballes*. The same is observable in the little which has a certain interpretation, in the celebrated scene of *Plautus* (*Pæn. v. 1. 2*). In the concurrence of all the above-mentioned causes this cannot be such, though in several words following one another the interpretation is almost obvious, and certainly not to be disputed.

For example, Sc. 1. v. 1. *Alonim valonuth*, עליונים ועליונות. V. 2. *tibariim*, דברים. V. 3. *hyth* (את), בנותי. V.

5. *Bythlym mothyn*, במלם מותים. V. 9. *hili gubylim lasibit thym* (in *hisce habitare regionibus*) אלה נבולים לשבת תם. Sc. 11. v. 50. *Milpho lechiauna*, מלפו לך יענה (Milpho will explain it). V. 67. *Gunnebel balsaminierasan*, נאון נבל בעל, שמים ירסן *petulantiam stolidi Deus calorum capistret*.

Even after the best explanations of Bochart (*Canaan* p. 721) and Bellermand (*Versuch einer Erklärung der Punischen Stellen im Pœnulus des Plautus*, 1806. 8.), a wide field is yet open to the acuteness of decypherers. The ancient (Plautinian) version should not be departed from unnecessarily. No one qualified to judge will any longer give place to the opinion that the whole or a part of the same may only be a fabricated *jar-gon*. (See Adelung's *Mithridat. Th. 1. s. 3. 50.*)

II. We have altogether a purer and more certain source in the *Inscriptions* on stones and coins. We obtain here at the same time the true orthography, but difficulties of another kind also step in. These consist partly in a yet unsatisfactory acquaintance with the characters, which are frequently very different, and sometimes indeed imperfectly delineated, and partly in the condition of the monuments themselves. The coins<sup>1</sup> usually contain only one, and at most but two words, and probably sometimes abbreviations, and can therefore afford little profit; the inscriptions on stone<sup>2</sup> contain far more text, but since they are chiefly epitaphs, containing a great many proper names, they are therefore less satisfactory than they otherwise would be. How much then yet remains to be done in the decyphering of them! The following is a small collection of correctly decyphered appellatives and proper names, from inscriptions and coins.

אנדר, upon Gaditani-	אח Brother. ואחי and my
an coins ( <i>Eckhel</i> p. 408). = נדר,	brother. Ib.
Γάδισα, Gades.	אם Mother, Mother-town.
אח = אדח Lord.	אם בכנע Mother-town in
לאדנ to our Lord. Inscr. Canaan.	
Melit.	

<sup>1</sup> See the descriptions and explanations of the same collected together, with literary notices in *Eckhel Doctr. Nummor. Vet.* III. p. 396. ff. *Rasche Lex. Rei Nummaria s. v. Phœnice*. Comp. Bellermand, *Bemerkungen über Phœnische und Punische Münzen*, St. 1. 1812. St. II. 1814.

<sup>2</sup> A pretty complete account of what is hitherto known, and of what has been written on this subject, may be seen in Bellermand *de Phœnicum et Pœnorum Inscriptionibus*, Berolini. 1810. 8.

לצר אם צדנם Tyro, matri  
Sidoniorum, *Ekhel*, p. 408.

אנכי = אנכ I. *Inscr. Cit.* 11.

אסר ממר N. propr. *Griech.*  
*Σαραπιων*. *Inscr. Athen.*

אשת Woman. *Inscr. Cit.*  
11. xxx.

אשמן N. propr. *Cit.* v.  
comp. Ἐσμανός, Name of Æ-  
sculapius with the Phœnicians.  
*Damasc. ap. Phot.* p. 1074.  
ed. Schott.

בן Son. *Cit.* 11. xxiii.

בעל Lord, Tutelar God.

מלקרת בעל צר Melicertus,  
Deus Tyri. *Inscr. Melit.*

ברך To bless. יברכה or  
יברכם *ibid.*

ברמלך N. propr. *filius re-*  
*gis*. *Melit.* 111.

זכר Remembrance. *Inscr.*  
*Athen.*

חדר Apartment. *Melit.* 111.

חיים Life. בחי in my life.  
*Cit.* 11.

חנבעל Hannibal (gratia  
Baalis, cf. *Hebraeum* הַנִּיָּאֵל).

*Inscr. Melit.* 111.

מלקרת Melicertes, i. e.  
מלך קרת rex urbis. *Inscr.*  
*Melit.* 1. In the Greek we  
have for it Ἡρακλῆς. Comp.  
*Bocharti Geogr.* s. p. 709.

מצבת Pillar. *Cit.* 11. xxiii.  
*Athen.*

מרתע Marathus, a town  
in Syria. *Num. ap. Ekhel*, p.  
404.

משכב Couch. *Cit.* 11.

נדר Vow. *Inscr. Melit.* 1.

עבד אסר N. propr. *Inscr.*  
*Cit.* 11. *Melit.* 1. In the  
Greek of the latter we have for  
it Διονύσιος. אסר, which also

appears in the Assyrian names  
חסר, תלנת-פלאסר, שלמנאסר  
אדן, seems to have been a  
god's name, which was  
thought to answer to Διονύσιος.

עבדמלך N. propr. (servant  
of the king, i. e. of Hercules),  
*Cit.* v.

עבדמן *Cit.* iv. comp. *Ab-*  
*demonus*, *Joseph. c. Apionem*  
1. pp. 448, 449.

עבד ססם N. propr. *Cit.* 11.

עבד שמש N. propr. *Inscr.*  
*Athen.* In Greek Ἡλιδωρος.

עבד תלת *ibid.* In Greek  
Ἀρτεμιδωρος. In what respect  
תלת is a god's name, corre-  
sponding to Artemis, cannot be  
known with any certainty.

עולם Eternity. *Cit.* 11.  
בית עולם for eternal house  
(of the grave), *Melit.*  
111.

על upon, on. *Cit.* 11.  
אמת עשתרת or עשתית  
(maid, servant of Astarte) fe-  
male name. *Cit.* 11.

צדנן Sidon, Sidonian,  
upon several coins, see *Ekhel*,  
p. 405.

צדני *Inscr. Athen.*

צר Tyrus. See *Ekhel*, p.  
405.

קבר Grave. *Melit.* 11.

קרת Town, for instance,  
town of Tyre. *Ekhel.*  
l. c. קרת חדשת (new town)  
Carthage; upon coins in *Ekhel*,  
p. 416.

קשרנם Cossuræi. Upon  
coins. See *Ekhel*, p. 417—18.  
*Bellermann*, p. 22—24.

תאם N. propr. *Cit.* 11.  
(Twin) θῶμας, *Didymus*.

III. In the Phœnician and Punic proper names, there is a two-fold difficulty, consisting partly in the etymology itself being frequently unknown in the living language, and partly in the unfaithful renderings and disfigurements of foreign authors.<sup>1</sup> The names of places are the most difficult, particularly the Carthaginian, which must be of more ancient origin. The names of persons are more easy, since they are mostly compounded with names of gods which are known.

*Abdalonimus*, king of Tyre, עבד עלימים. (See above *Alo-nim*.)

*Abdastartus*, עבד עשתרת.

*Abdelimus*, עבד אלם.

*Abdomenus*, *Abdemonus*. (Jos. Arch. 8. 2. *contra Apion*. 1. p. 448.)

עבד אמון. See no. 2.

*Abibal*, אבי בעל.

\* *Adherbal* (אדיר בעל).

*Adonis*, אדון.

\* *Adramyttum*, (הצרמות).

\* *Anna*, sister of Dido, אנה.

*Azelmic*, king of Tyre (עז מלך).

\* *Ἀζῆς*, name of Mars in Eme-sa. *Julian. Orat. in So-lem*. (עזי).

*Astarimus*, עשתרים.

*Astarte*, עשתרת.

*Baalit*, name of a goddess.

*Balator*, בעל הצור?

\* *Barca*, *Barcas*, brother of Pygmalion, also a surname of Hamilcar. (ברק *lightening*, of *lightening sword*, Arab. *بارق* the *lightener*, as a surname applied to heroes.)

\* *Byrsa*, a citadel of Carth-

age, בירתא. Vide *Falckenaer de Byrsa, Phœnicia arcis Carthaginensium nomine. Opusc.* 1. p. 103.

\* *Ido*, (beloved,) from דור = יד, related to דוד.

\* *Elissa* (exulting, from עלם, according to others, from אל אלה).

*Gadeira*, *Gadir*, *Gades*, גדרה, according to *Hesych.*

ἡγεμονία.

*Hannibal*, חני בעל.

*Hannon*, חנון, Syr. *حنن*, kind.

*Hasdrabal*, עזרו בעל (*help of Baal*) Upon an inscription *Hazrubal*.

*Ithobal*, איתו בעל, comp. the bibl. איתבעל.

*Jerombalās*, ירבעל.

*Karthago*, according to *Solin.*

*Karthada* (קרת חדשת) *new town*).

*Melicertes*, מלך קרת. Vide *supra*.

<sup>1</sup> See, for example, the Phœnician names of kings. *Allgem. Welthistorie*, Th. 2. S. 233.

*Merbal, Meherbal* (מְהֵרָל of πυγμαί.  
 בעל?). *Sanchuniathon* (according  
*Pygmation* (בְּהֵם עֲלִיחַ, pro- to *Bochart* סַנְיִקְנָאֲתוֹ, the law  
 perly, *finger, thumb of God,* [is] his zeal, סֶן = סֶפָה).  
 נְהֵם Arab. سِن = (בְּהֵן). The *Sidon* (צִידוֹן, *fishing*).  
 Greeks seem to have thought *Sor* (צֹר, *rock*).

Respecting the relation of the Hebrew and Phœnician, we have the following results:—1. The greater part of those Phœnician words which are correctly decyphered coincide closely with the ancient Hebrew, even in words and forms which are quite peculiar to the Hebrew, and which, namely, in the Aramaic, sound otherwise. For example, אֵלֵהִים, אֲדָן, עוֹלָם, בֶּן, אִשָּׁת, אֱלֹהִים, אֲדָן, and the plural termination יִם. 2. Deviations rarely occur, and may be considered as provincial; for example, the alphabetical names, Ἀλφα, &c. (with a kind of *st. emphat.* or feminine form); *Edom* for דָּם, *blood*; the frequent use of the vowels *u* and *i* in the Punic. We must look for the greater part of the deviations, more especially in the vowels. 3. The words which cannot be recognised, are usually as little to be found in the other dialects as in the Hebrew.<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> We here subscribe with a little limitation the judgment of *Akerblad* (*Inscr. Phœnicia Oecimensis nova interpretatio*. Parisiis, 1802: p. 26): *Jure igitur statuere licet linguam Phœnicum antiquis temporibus eandem prorsus fuisse ac Hebræam, quæ in libris hodie superstitis existat, quod probare conatus est Bochartus argumentis aliunde petitis, quibus nunc novam vim ac robur addunt hæc monumenta, ejus ævo nondum cognita: quamvis haud inficiandum Bochartum ejusque sequaces Clericum, Mazochium, ceterosque, omnes Orientis dialectos, prout conjecturis eorum inseruire posse videbantur, commiscendo, linguam quandam Phœnicum sibi finxisse a vera, sine dubio, longe alienam.*



## OBSERVATIONS ON

*Narrative of an Excursion to the Mountains of Piedmont, and Researches among the Waldenses, Protestant Inhabitants of the Cottian Alps; with Maps, Plates, and an Appendix containing copies of Ancient Manuscripts, &c.* By the REV. W. S. GILLY, M.A. Rector of N. Farnbridge, Essex. London: Rivington, 1824. 4to. pp. 279. CCXXIV. & 8vo.

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WE think it necessary to introduce our Author, by preparatory documents concerning the existence of two visible churches maintaining the primitive faith, from the days of the apostles to the present time, and opposing the usurpations and corruptions of the Latins, as they successively manifested themselves: the one of these churches having its seat in Italy, the other in the South of France; the former to the east, the latter to the west of Lyons, Arles, and Orange, which three places successively united and headed them. Also showing that the said churches were the prime instruments of all the Reformation in Europe; and this holy seed the substance of the reformed church at this very hour.

1. *Reynerus Sacco*, the inquisitor who was employed against the Vaudois, asserted that the sect of the Vaudois commenced either in the days of the apostles, or of Constantine the Great and Sylvester, in the beginning of the fourth century. He added, *Coram hominibus juste vivunt*. (Leger, pt. 1. p. 183.) Usher, p. 151, 210.

2. *Claudius Scissellius*, Abp. of Turin, and of the Vallies, A. D. 1500, vindicated the morals of the Vaudois. (Ibid. p. 184.)

3. *Thuanus*, A. D. 1560, vindicated their morality. (Ibid. p. 184.) See more testimonies in Leger. (Ibid.)

4. *Centuriatores Magdeburgenses*, 1569, Cent. xii. p. 1204, de Waldensibus, seu de Pauperibus de Lugduno.

Abp. Usher observes, (p. 156.) that this work contains the most ancient information from Ms.—As we shall give this document at length, we only observe that their testimony to the foretasted antiquity of the Vaudois appeals to the confession of their enemies.

5. *Abp. Usher's work*, before referred to, and entitled, *De Christianarum Ecclesiarum Successione et Statu*, 1618.

This most important document is the basis both of Leger and of Morland. We should notice particularly, p. 17, where he observes, that there was no need of witnesses before the seventh century, for proof of which he alleges Bp. Jewel's testimony: 'Quod cum ab aliis, tum a Johanne Juellio immortalis memoriæ viro luculenter demonstratum.' N.B. This may be true with respect to *doctrine*; but does not apply to *usurpation*. Both Ikenæus, Bp. of Lyons, and Hilarius, Bp. of Arles, were witnesses against the claims of Rome to undue jurisdiction, before that jurisdiction was employed to enforce Antichristian doctrine. (Sir I. Newton on Daniel, and Bower's Lives of the Popes.) P. 61. Remarks on the Revelation of Antichrist. Compare Mede on Dan. xii. 11. P. 149. Rev. ii. 24, is descriptive of Popery. P. 151, 210, he properly rejects and refutes the ignorance of those who derive the Vaudois from Peter Waldo. P. 156, he refers us to the Cent. Magd. as above stated.

6. *Perrin's History of the Waldenses and Albigenes*, 1619. His ignorance of the origin of the Vaudois is corrected by his second English translator. This work is valuable for showing the effect of the persecutions and dispersions of the Waldenses and Albigenes to have been the diffusion of primitive Christianity throughout Europe.—The providence of God particularly in bringing the English, in the time of Edward III., into contact with the Albigenes, deserves especial note. This was that dark hour, when "all our fathers worshipped stocks and stones." Wickliff was the most eminent of their converts; but the voice of his thunder was to be sealed. To Perrin, we believe, we are principally indebted for the writings of the Waldenses, bearing date before the time of Peter Waldo.

7. *Sir Samuel Morland's History of the Vaudois*, 1658.

This noble author brings down their history to his own times. He asserts the antiquity of the Vaudois, and alleges the testimonies of Roreno, prior of Lucerna (1632), that this heresy continued to the eighth century.

He maintains that the disciples of Waldo came into the vallies to reside with their brethren. See p. 13 & 27. He adds, that the Belvidere chiefs of the missionaries, having undertaken to show the original of the religion of the Vaudois, were never able to show the very age, even from the days of the apostles, when it was there introduced. All ancient concessions import no more than that they were permitted to con-

tinue in the same religion which they had received from their ancestors.

He likewise refers us to a Cambridge manuscript, in proof that their own belief was that they had preserved the gospel from generation to generation, from the days of the apostles.

His inference from the concession of Rorengo, that since that eminent author admitted that their religion continued till the eighth century, i.e. until the time of Claudius, Abp. of Turin, in the eighth century, and that his doctrine continued in the ninth and tenth centuries; and that in the beginning of the eleventh century, Peter Waldo came into the vallies, where, it is admitted also, they have taught and professed the same ever since,—is, “that the professors of the reformed religion may clap their hands in token of an absolute triumph for ever over all the disciples of the church of Rome, and say that they are now able, manifestly and undeniably to prove the continual succession of their religion from the days of Christ and his apostles down to this present age.”

N.B. Primitive Christianity must either have been preserved or restored in the vallies. If *preserved*, as we assert, the cause, for which Protestants plead, is gained; if *restored* by Claudius or Peter Waldo, as may be objected, we demand, not *assertion* for the fact, but *proof*; and proof too, not from the arguments of the moderns, *Ἡμεῖς γὰρ κλέος οἶον ἀκευτήμεθ' οὐδὲ τι ἴδμεν*, but from the testimonies of the contemporaries of the Vaudois in former ages, who wanted neither the will nor the opportunity to disprove the antiquity of the faith of the Vaudois: one thing only they wanted, viz. the possibility of disproving it. Q. E. D.

8. *Jean Leger's History of the Vaudois*, 1669, continuing their history to 1664.

This most complete history of the Vaudois vindicates the antiquity of this church. Pt. 1. p. 128. 131. 183. Alleges Thuanus, p. 129, and Luther, p. 150; and Bp. Jewel, p. 133. Brings forward Claudius of Turin, p. 137. Asserts that England was reformed by them, p. 176. States, what we think not improbable, that the year 666 was the true epoch of idolatry and transubstantiation, the abomination of desolation, p. 134, which is confirmed by the Cent. Magd. and asserted by Fleming on the Revelation, who adds that the Latin liturgy was then enforced.

Abp. Usher and Sir S. Morland left little to this eminent author to add to the history, besides a continuation of it to his own times. He has ably availed himself of their researches, and produced the most perfect history of the Vaudois.

9. *Dr. Allix on the Waldenses and Albigenses*, 1690. He proves the apostolical antiquity and primitive faith of both these churches, and demonstrates the regular succession of witnesses in them both. One grand omission, however, is that of Hilarious, Bp. of Arles, with whom both persecution and the times of the Man of Sin commenced. See Mede, More, and Sir J. Newton, to whom we most cordially assent. See also Whiston on Rev. xi. 2, for the best judgment on Dr. Allix.

10. *Peter Boyer's History of the Vaudois*, 1692. This author has given us an excellent epitome of the doctrine and history of the Vaudois to his own time. The epistle dedicatory is properly addressed to the Prince of Orange, who was at this time the head and champion of both Waldenses and Albigenses. See Bp. Burnet's *Life of Queen Mary*, and the *History of his Own Times*.

He asserts their antiquity, p. 2. He relates their history in a most interesting manner; and all that seems wanting to render this little history complete, is to erase the arguments of the chapters, and every thing like anticipation of success or defeat in the book: for the book abounds with anticipation, the greatest of all faults in an historian. The history of Jayer and Janavel particularly, in the hands of a skilful historian, might be rendered the most interesting of histories. His reflections also are too often repeated, and he is in too great a hurry to finish his story. This work ought to be the basis of a better written popular work.

In his application of the prophecies he seems to have applied them well to the restoration of a small proportion of the Vaudois in 1690. But he has not told us what became of the vast multitude of dried bones, or of the Waldenses and Albigenses every where unchurched from April 1685, to the latter end of 1686. We must therefore have recourse to other sources of information. Bp. Lloyd agreed with him in his application of prophecy.

11. *Histoire de l'Edit de Nantes*, 1695. This great work is second to none in continuing the history both of Waldenses and Albigenses to the author's own times. The precise epoch of the last great persecution by all the Romanists throughout Europe is determined to April or May 1685; the work having been effected in France some months before the formal revocation of the edict: (tome iii. p. 745) the Waldenses being involved in it, at the very same time. (Bp. Burnet's *Travels*, p. 65. Compare his *History of his Own Times*.)

12. *The History of the Persecutions of the Protestants by the*

*French King in the Principality of Orange, by M. Pineton, Pastor of the Church of Orange, 1689.* This author justly observes, "that the year 1685 was such an epocha that future ages shall look on it to be the most dreadful that ever happened. It was in that year that the temples throughout France were pulled down, and an universal dispersion of the people into all the parts of the earth. We saw, indeed, our calamity hastening apace; but we never thought that the persecution would be so sharp.

"It was at Easter in the same year that we began to see the distress of the reformed churches in France: those who in the neighboring provinces had been forbid all public exercise of their religion came crowding to us for the sake of their devotion. Storms drive not the waves with more fury than this violent persecution threw troubles continually towards us, which at last swallowed us up."—See other authors, relating the persecution at Orange, referred to in the History of the Edict of Nantes.

13. *M. de Brueys' History of Fanaticism.* This celebrated opponent of Protestantism witnesses, that, from June 1688 to February 1689, "enthusiasm spread itself with such a torrent among the French Protestants that a conflagration blown with the wind does not spread faster from house to house, than this fury fled from parish to parish. Brethren, said the Prophet, amend your lives; repent ye of that great sin ye have committed in going to mass: it is the Holy Ghost that speaks to you through my mouth. They made loud cries for mercy; the hills and all the echoes adjoining resounded with the cry of mercy; with imprecations against the church, the Pope, and against the Antichristian dominion; with blasphemies against the mass, with exhortations to repentance for having abjured their religion, with predictions of the approaching fall of Popery, and the deliverance of the church pretendedly reformed." Compare Bp. Burnet's History of his Own Times, i. 779, and Junet's Preface to his work on the Prophecies, 1687, for most important matter.

14. *Views of the State of Europe during the Middle Ages, by H. Hallam, Esq., 1818, vol. 2. p. 531.* This eminent author, competent if any modern be so, to sum up the evidence for the antiquity and morality of the Vaudois, seals the testimony in these words: "Those who were absolutely free from any taint of Manichæism are properly called Waldenses, a name perpetually confounded in later times with that of Albigenses. These, according to the majority of writers, took their appellation from Peter Waldo; according to others, the original Waldenses were a race of uncorrupted shepherds in the valleys of the Alps, which

had shaken off, or perhaps never learned the system of superstition on which the Catholic church depended for its ascendancy. I am not certain that their existence can be distinctly traced beyond the preaching of Waldo, but it is well known that the proper seat of the Waldenses has long continued to be in certain vallies of Piedmont. These pious and innocent sectaries, of whom the very monkish historians speak well, appear to have nearly resembled the modern Moravians. They had ministers of their own appointment, and denied the lawfulness of oaths and of capital punishments. In other respects their opinions probably were not far removed from those usually called Protestants. A simplicity of dress, and especially the use of wooden sandals, was affected by this people. Their innocence is out of all doubt. No book can be written in a more edifying manner than their Noble Lesson."

15. *Bp. Burnet's Essay of Queen Mary*, p. 142: "The refugees of France were considered by her, as those whom God had sent to sit safe under her shadow, and easy through her favor. Those scattered remnants of our elder sister, that had been hunted out of their vallies, were again brought together by their majesties' means. It was the king's powerful intercession that restored them to their seats, as well as to their edicts. And it was the queen's charity that formed them into bodies, and put them in the method of enjoying those advantages, and of transmitting them down to future ages. She took care also of preserving the little that remained of the Bohemian churches."

"N.B. During the reign of James II., the persecution which fell on all the Protestants throughout Europe, lighted specially on their elder sisters, the Waldenses and Albigenses. Their churches were unchurched; and their scattered members generally exhibited either a deadness to Protestantism, or actually renounced their former faith, and came over to the church of Rome." (Burnet.)

In 1688, Orange awakened, and the dry bones came together, and life entered into them; as M. Brueys acknowledges. It may be seen in the History of the Edict of Nantes, that their army consisted of the Prince of Orange, Marshal Schomberg, and 300 French officers, all of them Protestant refugees. The numbers of the common soldiers we have not found stated; but a paper published at the time of their landing at Torbay, takes particular notice of their fine appearance.

The most interesting account of this event is found in Bp. Burnet's History of his Own Times. Having ascended the throne of Great Britain, they had to establish the Protestant Kingdom

by a war, which continued till the close of the year 1697. And this object they effected, as will be seen in *The complete History of England*, and Bp. Burnet's *History of his Own Times*; and now—

Roma fuit, fuit Othmanides, fuit improbus orbis  
Terrarum, solus regnat in orbe Deus.

(See Daubuz on Rev. xiv.)

In the mean time, in 1690, a remnant of the Vaudois crossed the lake of Geneva, and recovered their ancient seats, as the greater body had before crossed the British Channel. (Boyer, ch. xxvii.)

## GRIESBACH, IN SACRED CRITICISM— AND ELMSLEY, IN ATTIC.

IN the Prolegomena of Griesbach to his immortal edition of the Greek Testament, the third section contains those canons of criticism, by which on the maturest judgment he thinks the sacred text ought to be determined.

I have always lamented, that Griesbach gave the canons barely without any instances of the right or the wrong involved in them, so very necessary to the understanding of their import and truth. Would it not be a pleasant and useful task for some scholar to illustrate those canons by a few striking instances in each case from the edition itself?

Allow me to suggest two canons which obviously require such illustration: I cannot understand them without it.

6. Lectio, præ aliis sensum pietati (præsertim monasticæ) alendæ aptum fundens, suspecta est.

7. Præferatur aliis lectio, cui sensus subest apparenter quidem falsus, qui vero re penitus examinata verus esse deprehenditur.

To the 4th canon, which begins thus—

Insolentior lectio potior est ea, qua nihil insoliti continetur — our own excellent Elmsley ὁ μακροτέρως has suggested a very strong demurrer; as far indeed as the criticism of the tragic writers is concerned, but not in the least affecting the consideration of the sacred text—in re omnino dissimili.

“Objici quidem potest, rarius vocabulum νεαρός in commune νεός ex conjectura mutandum non esse. Sed regulam Griesbachii criticam, in diversitate scripturæ vocabula rariora præfe-

renda esse vulgationibus, non semper veram esse monui ad *Med.* 427, 8. p. 152."

P. E. ad *Ædip. Colon.* v. 702.

"Hic igitur locus notissimæ criticorum regulæ, in diversitate scripturæ vocabula rariora præferenda esse vulgationibus, aperte adversatur."

"Grammatici veteres scilicet, secus ac multi putant, rariores et in prosa oratione minus usitatas vocabulorum formas data opera sectati sunt, quas pro communibus in poetarum libris collocarent. Id sæpe fecisse recentiores grammaticos, quos criticos vulgo vocamus, extra controversiam est. Ut uno exemplo defungar, Barnesius, qui cuivis fere veterum magistrorum iudicio par erat, σπεύσει θανάτοις τελευτὰν dedit v. 151, idque et celato auctore, et metro violato, neque ullo libro consentiente. Sed magis poeticum ideoque Euripide dignius ei videbatur Homericum θανάτοις, quam vulgare illud et in omnium ore tritum θανάτου. Quod fecit Barnesius, quidni fecerint Didymus, Dionysius, aliique homines veteris linguæ Atticæ ignarissimi?"

P. E. ad *Med.* vv. 427, 8.

The lovers of Attic literature will never cease to regret the loss of a man like this. After the names of Bentley, and Dawes, and Porson, to complete the quaternion, what name shall be added? That of Elmsley stands alone in the competition.

R. S. Y.

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## PERSIAN INGENUITY.

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AMONG several passages extracted from Eastern writers, showing by various examples the ingenuity of Persians in different arts and sciences, one particularly struck me, as it serves to prove, that between three and four hundred years ago, great progress had been made in a branch of mechanics, which, from the report of travellers, it would appear, had not, since that time, been cultivated by Asiatics with much success. Having offered some preliminary observations, I shall quote the passage in question, as one which probably has never before been committed to the press. It occurs in the manuscript work of that celebrated historian, *Muhammed ben Kháwend Sháh ben Mah-*

\* Griesbachius Prolegom. ad N. T. p. 62.



*múd*, more commonly denominated *Mirkhond*, who died in the year of the Muhammedan era 903, or of Christ 1498. His excellent Persian chronicle, entitled the *Rauzet al Safa*, or "Garden of Purity," was composed by desire of the *Emir Ali Shir*, and is generally transcribed in seven large volumes, besides an appendix; but some ingenious critics have doubted whether this *khâtemah* or appendix, and indeed whether part of the seventh volume, might not rather be ascribed to *Khondemir*, the son of *Mirkhond*, than to the illustrious *Mirkhond* himself.

That the modern inhabitants of Persia are not inferior to their predecessors in natural ingenuity, appears from the concurrent testimonies of several travellers; and what the ancient Persians were able to effect in works of art and mechanical contrivances, may be learned from various passages of classic writers, and from venerable monuments still existing in different provinces of that country. The stupendous ruins that indicate the site of Persepolis, and may be regarded as the remains of Darius's palace, must here be particularly noticed. On a reference to the engravings given by Chardin, Le Brun, and Niebuhr; also by those who within the present century have visited those admirable fragments of antiquity, M. Morier, Sir William Ouseley, Sir Robert Ker Porter, and others, it will be found that the Persepolitan sculptures, executed probably between two and three thousand years ago, represent objects of highly elaborate workmanship. The different articles of dress in which numerous human figures are clothed; the ornaments which they wear; the arms, more especially the bows with their cases, and quivers with arrows; their caps, crowns and helmets; the extraordinary harness of their chariots; and many things of which it would now be difficult to ascertain the use—all these sculptures bespeak, as the very first glance will sufficiently show, that they are imitations exact even to minuteness, of the objects which they were designed to represent; and no one can hesitate in acknowledging that artists capable of making the arms and armor, the ornaments, chariots, harness and other matters which the sculptures so exactly imitate, must have been persons of considerable ingenuity.

The same opinion may be formed on examination of those sculptures which were executed at a much later period (from the third to the seventh century), representing Persian kings, of the Sassanidan race, with their nobles, and warriors, according to the descriptions and delineations of them given by the travellers above-mentioned. From these monuments, however, it does not appear that the artists, in any respect, proved them-

selves superior to those who, many hundred years before, had been employed on the Persepolitan marbles. Yet it is probable, that the oldest Persian workmen, and those of the Sassanidan ages, wanted, not only in executing the sculptures, but in fabricating the arms, ornaments, chariots and other things represented by them, many of those tools and mechanical implements which render such tasks comparatively easy to Europeans. That observant traveller, Chardin (than whom no better judge could be consulted respecting mechanical operations), has remarked the extreme simplicity of apparatus and the paucity of tools among modern Persian artists; also the facility with which they establish their portable workshops in the corner of a room, where, sitting on the bare floor, or perhaps on a sorry piece of carpet, they produce such specimens of ingenuity as it would be difficult to equal among us, notwithstanding the multiplicity of implements and all the helps of mechanism to which our artists are accustomed. • The reader will see in Chardin's fourth volume (12mo edition), how the Persians of his time (the seventeenth century) excelled in various branches of art; in embroidery of silk or leather with gold and silver; in pottery or earthenware, some of which rivalled the porcelain of China; he celebrates their dexterity in turning; in making vessels of copper, and tinning them so as to resemble silver; in the manufactory of sword-blades; in their admirable fire-works; in the cutting and engraving of precious stones, and in articles made of pasteboard, and beautifully varnished.

Such mechanics as be amongst them, says Sir Thomas Herbert, are industrious and ingenious; whether you consider those that labor in silk and bombasin; or that dye and weave carpets, or other arts, with which their bazzars abound: besides, they have a rare art to print flowers of all sorts in leather and in colors; of which they make buskins, sandals, saddles, and furniture for houses. (Travels, p. 320, Third Edition.)

With all this ingenuity, however, it appears from Chardin's account, that the art of making clocks or watches (Phorlogerie) was unknown to the Persians, or at least only practised among them by a few Europeans. Yet in the manuscript to which I have above alluded (*Mirkhond's* great historical composition), an anecdote is related indicating some mechanism of the clock-work kind, invented or constructed by *Mulana Haji Muhammed*, a celebrated painter, who, in the fifteenth century, held, for a while, the honorable appointment of *Kitáb-dâr*, or Librarian, to the *Emir Ali Shur*. I now lay before my reader the Persian text of this anecdote, and shall subjoin a translation.

از جمله مخترعات مولانا حاجي محمد صندوق ساعتی است که در کتابخانه امیرعلیشیر ترتیب نمود و در آن صندوق صورتی تعبیه کرده بود که چوبی در دست داشت و چون یک ساعت در روز میگذشت آن پیکر چوب را یکنوبت بر تقارن که در پیش او بود میزد و بعد از کزشتن ساعت دوم دو نوبت آن حرکت میکرد و علی هذا القیاس

Among the inventions of *Mulana Haji Muhammed* was a clock (literally, an *hour-box*), which he set up in the library of *Emir Ali Shir*; and in that clock was contrived a certain image holding in its hand a stick or club, and when one hour of the day had elapsed, this figure struck once on a brazen drum which was placed before it; after the lapse of another hour it struck two blows with the same kind of motion, and in like manner at each succeeding hour.

By what mechanism this movement was produced does not appear; we are authorised, perhaps, to suspect that sand or water may have been employed. A passage quoted by Mr. Turner, in his *History of the Anglo-Saxons* (book v. ch. 11. note 15.), describes a wonderful clock sent by the king of Persia to Charlemagne, about the year 807. In this clock the "*duodecim horarum cursus ad clepsydram vertebatur*;" for marking the hours, brazen balls were contrived to fall and tinkle on a *cymbalum*, while figures of horsemen, corresponding in number to the hours, came forth at regular intervals from some of the twelve doors or windows; closing by the impulse of their egress, at the conclusion of each hour, as many of those windows as had before been open. (For this passage Mr. Turner quotes the *Annales Carol. Mag. Astron. Reuberi*, p. 35.)

But this does not appear by any means so astonishing a piece of mechanism as that which, in the seventh century, was contrived to represent the Persian monarch Chosroes *ὡς ἐν οὐρανῷ καθήμενον, καὶ περὶ τοῦτο Ἥλιον καὶ Σελήνην καὶ Ἀστρα, &c.* sitting as it were in the heavens, surrounded by the sun, moon, and stars; whilst showers of rain were seen to fall, lightning flashed, and thunder was heard to roll, as we learn from Cedrenus (ad annum Heracii 13.). This *eidouranion* of Chosroes is likewise noticed by several Eastern authors.

We may, perhaps, regard as specimens of ingenuity in clock-work, many figures which Persian writers have described as almost miraculous, and impelled to move by means of talismanic art: thus in the rare manuscript entitled *Zinet al Mejalis*, we read that

Above the throne of *Khusrau* (the Chosroes before mentioned of our historians) an arch had been formed, also a talisman under the form of a lion with a ball or globe of gold and a cup or basin, so contrived, that as each hour of the day arrived, the golden globe dropped from the lion's mouth into the basin.

و بر آن تخت طاقی برآورده بودند و طلسمی ساخته مثال  
شیری و کوبی زرین و طاسی بزمجاری دهان شیر ترتیب داده  
که هرگاه که یکساعت از روز برآمدي آن کوي زرین از  
دهان شیر افتاده در آن طاس

Other extraordinary contrivances of the same kind are mentioned by Persian authors; *Zacaria* of *Kazvin* describes several in his Ms. work entitled *Ajaieb al makhlu'ât* composed in the thirteenth century; one, made by an ingenious fellow-citizen, he describes as a human figure which opened the door when any person knocked, and afterwards shut it.

But so many convincing specimens of Persian ingenuity have, within the last fourteen or fifteen years, been brought to England, that we can scarcely doubt, what some travellers assert, that with proper instructions and an adequate supply of our tools and mechanical implements, the Persians might soon equal any European nation in various branches of art. It is true that on certain subjects they are not fond of innovation; and, as Sir Thomas Herbert remarks, (*Travels*, p. 321.)

In antique paths of ignorance they choose rather to tread, than by any new invention to call in question the reverend judgment of their ancestors.

But much of this prejudice has already disappeared; the king and prince-royal of Persia (*Abbas Mirza*) not only encourage Europeans at their respective courts, but have sent within a few years some young men to England, that they might learn from our artists of different descriptions all the latest improvements. With these young Persians the writer of this article was acquainted in London; and can bear witness to their quickness of apprehension, and ingenuity in execution. That they will confer numerous benefits on their countrymen may reasonably be expected. We must not forget, however, that before they visited England, a gunsmith of *Shiraz*, named *Badr*, had made fowling-pieces which bore every appearance of admirable English workmanship, as we learn from Si. W. Ouseley's *Travels*, vol. 11. p. 58. For many ages *Ispahan* has been famed on account of the boxes, cabinets, musical instru-

ments, pannels of doors, and other things, of which the exterior surface is beautifully covered with a coat of Mosaic or inlaid work, called *Khatem-bandî*, comprising innumerable small pieces of metal, wood, ivory and various substances of different colors, arranged in regular patterns with exquisite neatness; yet sold at a price which our artists would not consider by any means proportionate to the time and labor expended in the execution. The same may be said respecting many other productions of Persian ingenuity; but it must here suffice to mention more particularly the illuminated manuscripts, in which pictures representing battles, hunting-parties, love scenes, and other subjects, however deficient the painters may prove themselves in drawing and perspective, evince considerable skill in the preparation of most brilliant colors: and while they dazzle the eye by their splendid ornaments they delight it by the beauty of their penmanship, and by lines which would seem to have been written with liquid gold.

P. V.

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## CRITICAL REMARKS ON HOMER'S ILIAD.

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No. II.—[Continued from No. LXIV.]

ILIAD A. line 5. ἐξ ὧ. In a former communication to the Classical Journal, I referred the relative in this passage to Διός. I have since observed, that Hesiod in the same manner refers to the gods as the first cause of contention.<sup>1</sup>

The establishment of this sense in Homer is important, as it may contribute to elucidate the state of religious knowledge in the earliest ages of the Gentiles. And to the reader, who directs his inquiries according to the real importance of investigations,

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<sup>1</sup> Hesiod, \*Erg. 15.

ἀλλ' ὅπ' ἀνάγκης  
Ἀθανάτων βουλῇσιν ἔσιν τιμῶσι βαρείαν.

Hesiod is here speaking of emulation, which he distinguishes into two kinds, as does also Cicero; the one kind *envy*, the other, *the aim at excellence*, which latter only he approves. What Hesiod adds, respecting Prometheus, should be carefully compared with the Prometheus of Æschylus.

this is the supreme inquiry in the perusal of Homer and Hesiod, and one to which I hope to call serious attention. It is a remark of Bishop Horsley's, that the heathen religion was a corruption of the religion of the patriarchs; which remark should direct us in the inquiry concerning the state of religion in the most ancient records of the principles of our Gentile forefathers; and the result, I feel assured, would be, that the one and the same religion, which was in the beginning, when Abel offered up his lamb, and Cain apostatised from the primitive faith by not offering rightly, formed the basis of all the religions which existed in the ancient world. And I believe we shall find, in the history of both particular and universal dispensations, these following common characters: 1. Truth and simplicity. 2. Excess of misguided zeal. 3. Restoration of truth. 4. Diminution and destruction of truth. And thus,

*Redit labor actus in orbem.*

The primitive religion, according to the Bible and to Homer, was that which taught that the offences of men against God would not be forgiven, except through prayer and sacrifice. And these latter were rendered means of reforming the offenders, by the revelation and belief of this grand principle, that they were not efficacious in any case in which the offenders did not forgive and love their fellow-creatures. *Forgive us our trespasses as we forgive them that trespass against us*, was the essence of primitive religion and morality. And St. John further intimates, that Cain by not offering rightly, and by hating his brother, apostatised from communion with the Father and with the Son. For the communion of Abel with the Son was through the sacrament of sacrifice divinely appointed. Before the fall, man did not eat animal food; but after the fall God himself clothed Adam with the skins of animals, denoting at once that his sin must be covered by a victim, and human life preserved by vicarial suffering and death. Compare *Iliad I.* 493—513.

In the present age the tide of opinion is ebbing far below the happy mean of truth, established at the Reformation; and we have too much reason to fear lest a temporary destruction of truth in all its branches will be the end of the present dispensation. The thirty-third chapter of Job, which was written before the birth even of Moses, leaves us in no doubt what the religion of the patriarchs was; and I feel no question but that the same was the religion of the Gentiles in the time of Homer, however overloaded and disguised by the inventions of man in

the worship of God, and I feel my faith in Christianity confirmed by tracing all the varieties of religions to the faith of Abel with St. John in his first epistle, or even still higher, to the emanation of the visible light, the shadow and type of the very light of light, uncreate, eternal in the heavens; and for purposes of this kind especially I read and delight in Homer. And I would raise my voice and testify to every person who in this enlightened age rejects the Christian sacrifice, that he is degraded in understanding and morals below the generation, which conducted the decennial war around the walls of Troy.

The mention of these walls leads me to observe, that I was lately favored with a sight of a specimen of the stone with which they were built, by a lady residing at Farendon. The substance was beautifully white, and a conglomerate of sea-shells. This latter peculiarity suggested to my mind a conjecture, that it might have given cause to the legend or fable that Neptune was the builder of them. Another interesting inquiry connected with the former is, whether we can trace in Homer any allusions to Scripture and to facts recorded in Scripture. Much has been written on the correspondence between Alcimus and Solomon, which it were unnecessary therefore to repeat; but I have been much struck with a resemblance in some of the speeches of Ulysses, when petitioning for relief, to the style and sentiments of the Psalms of David. This is a subject to which also I hope to call attention.<sup>1</sup>

I advert a second time to Γ. 59, &c., and note that this passage has not been clearly explained. Paris compares the distinguishing judgment of Hector to the stroke of the axe of the skilful woodman, which exactly divides its object without exceeding or transgressing it, if I may so use the term. Κατ' αἶσαν means, with distinction or penetration, and corresponds to εἰσι διὰ in the simile, line 61.—In line 66, Paris intends by αὐτοῖ, spontaneously, as *ipse* is used in Latin;—

*Ipsæ* lacte domum referent distenta capellæ  
Ubera;

and he means to say, that though he would not refuse the gifts which the gods *spontaneously* proffered to him, at the same

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<sup>1</sup> I would now simply propose as queries, whether in Iliad II. 384, there be not an allusion to the flood? and in Ω. 532. to the Psalms? Compare Psalm lxxv. 8. and Revel. xiv. 10. There might also seem an allusion to the history of Cain in the same passage. But I propose these observations merely as queries.

time he would not *spontaneously*, or without the proffering to him by the gods, choose them for himself, *ἐκὼν ἔλοιτο*.

After a careful revision of the passage, I offer this as the sense in which my judgment finally rests.

*I. M. B.*

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## ON THE VOWEL POINTS OF THE HEBREW LANGUAGE.

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IN consequence of the present prevailing fashion for the study of the Hebrew language, I am induced to offer some observations respecting its celebrated vowel points. It appears that a new school of divinity is arising, which is chiefly founded on an old exploded notion of the antiquity of these points. The object for which this obsolete doctrine is revived, is I think sufficiently evident. However with your permission, as concisely as is in my power, I propose to submit to your readers a few of the reasons which formerly caused it to be exploded; and which I flatter myself, will finally consign it to its long home. The Hebrew language, as it is found in the copies of the Pentateuch used in the synagogues, consists of twenty-two letters; but is devoid of the marks which are known by the name of the vowel points. The present Jews, with the followers of the new divinity school, maintain that these points are of very great antiquity; some asserting them to be as old as Ezra, others coeval with the language. On the contrary, it has been the opinion of most learned men in modern times, that they have been not only adopted as authority, but invented since the time of Christ that they were invented in the dark ages by the Jews, in order to enable them to give such meaning and pronunciation to the text as they thought proper; and further to enable them, on once having given it that meaning and pronunciation, to keep them from all change in future. The object for which they were invented is evident from the circumstance, that they not only added a system of new vowels to the language. but they contrived to abolish the old ones, and render them silent and useless as vowels, and convert them when joined to the new letters into consonants. Had the object of the Jews in inventing



the points been merely to fix the pronunciation, they would not have done away with the old vowels, but only added some points to them. But this would not have served their purpose; therefore they were obliged to get quit of the sturdy old vowels, which would not be made to bend to their purposes, and to convert them into consonants.

The simple question at issue betwixt the parties is, whether these points be new or old; and this I think it will not be difficult to settle. If what Harris says be true, that a letter is a sign significant, the vowel points and accents or marks, upwards of twenty in number, must be letters, for they are certainly signs significant; and it is pretty evident that the addition of such a number of letters to any language must enable the person adding them, to give to the original text nearly whatever meaning he thinks proper. This is the object for which they were invented by the Jews, and this is now the object for which the new school of Christians support them.

In the beginning of the last and the end of the preceding century, the question of the antiquity of these points was discussed at great length, and with no little warmth and animation, by a great number of very learned men, until the subject appeared to be completely exhausted, and the question settled. To enter into the contest again would be useless, and evidently would occupy too much space in your miscellany: but as Dean Prideaux has summed up the chief arguments against them in a short and compendious form, it may be useful to many of your readers who are misinformed by their Jewish and Christian instructors to see what has been said by him against them. The following are the principal reasons which he gives against their antiquity.

1. "The sacred books made use of by the Jews in their synagogues, have ever been, and still are without the vowel points, which would not have happened had they been placed there by Ezra, and consequently been of the same authority with the letters; for, had they been so, they would certainly have been preserved in the synagogues with the same care as the rest of the text. There can scarce any other reason be given why they were not admitted thither but that, when the holy scriptures began first to be publicly read to the people in their synagogues, there were no such vowel points then in being; and that when they afterwards came in use, being known to be of a human invention, they were for that reason never thought fit to be added to those sacred copies, which were looked on as the true representatives of the original; and therefore they have been ever kept with the same care in the ark or sacred chest of the synagogues,

as the original draft of the law of Moses anciently was in the ark or sacred chest of the tabernacle, which was prepared for it ; and they are still so kept in the same manner among them to this day.

2. "The ancient *various readings* of the sacred text called *Keri Cetib*, are all about the letters, and none about the vowel points : which seem manifestly to prove, that the vowel points were not anciently in being, or else were not then looked on as an authentic part of the text ; for if they had, the variations of these would certainly have been taken notice of, as well as those of the letters.

3. "The ancient cabbalists draw none of their mysteries from the vowel points, but all from the letters : which is an argument either that these vowel points were not in use in their time, or else were not then looked on as an authentic part of the sacred text ; for had they then been so, these triflers would certainly have drawn mysteries from the one as well as from the other, as the later cabbalists have done.

4. "If we compare with the present pointed Hebrew Bibles the version of the Septuagint, the Chaldee paraphrases, the fragments of Aquila, Symmachus, and Theodotion, or the Latin version of Jerome, we shall in several places find that they did read the text, otherwise than according to the present punctuation : which is a certain argument, that the pointed copies, if there were any such in their times, were not then held to be of any authority ; for otherwise they would certainly have followed them.

5. "Neither the *Mistna*, nor the *Gemara*, either that of Jerusalem or that of Babylon, do make any mention of these vowel points ; although in several places there are such special occasions and reasons for them so to have done, that it can scarce be thought possible they could have omitted it if they had been in being when these books were written ; or if in being, had been looked on by the Jews of those times to be of any authority amongst them. Neither do we find the least hint of them in Philo-Judæus or Josephus, who are the oldest writers of the Jews, or in any of the ancient Christian writers for several hundred years after Christ. And although among them Origen and Jerome were well skilled in the Hebrew language, yet in none of their writings do they speak the least of them. Origen flourished in the third, and Jerome in the fifth century ; and the latter having lived a long time in Judea, and there more especially applied himself to the study of Hebrew learning, and much conversed with the Jewish Rabbies for his improvement therein, it is not likely that he could have missed making some men-

tion of them through all his voluminous works, if they had been either in being among the Jews in his time, or in any credit or authority with them, and that especially, since in his commentaries there were so many necessary occasions for his taking notice of them; and it cannot be denied, but that this is a very strong argument against them.' *Prid. Con. P. i. B. v.*

The Dean has not done justice to his own observations respecting Origen; for he might have added, that numerous examples might be produced from his works, where he has quoted the Hebrew in a manner different from the present masoretic punctuation, particularly in his *Heptacla*, in writing Hebrew into Greek characters.

This short compendium of the Dean's seems to me to be quite sufficient to decide the question. Indeed, the well-known fact named in his first section, of the text in the synagogue copies being without the points, cannot be got over. The points are not only wanting, but

"The text of the synagogue-rolls of the Pentateuch is not divided into verses; and is also without the points of distinction (:) called *Soph-pesuk*. Buxtorf in his *Tiberias*, ch. ii. p. 113. quotes the following note from Elias Levitta: It is a certain truth, and of which there is no doubt, that this law which Moses set before the Israelites was plain, without points, and without accents; and without any distinction of verses, even as we see it at this day: and according to the opinion of the cabalistic doctors, the whole law was as one verse, yea, and there are that say as one word." *Yeates's Collation*, pp. 35, 36. *Townley's Illustration*, V. i. p. 58.

The great supporters of the antiquity of the points were the two Buxtorfs. No doubt men of great learning and talent. But the only argument which they produced of any weight which is not answered by the preceding five paragraphs of the Dean's is this, "that when the Hebrew language ceased to be the mother tongue of the Jews, (as it is agreed on all hands that it did after the Babylonish captivity,) it was scarce possible to teach that language without the vowel points." *Prid. Con.*

This argument is completely refuted by the fact, that the Samaritan Pentateuch, as well as the Chaldee paraphrases before the time of Buxtorf were all without the points, and the former still remains so. It seems quite absurd to suppose, that if the Hebrew had once had them, it should ever have lost them. And the argument that the language must have had them because it could not be read without them, is at once refuted by the fact of the Samaritan being yet without them, as well as several other languages. The reader will find much curious informa-

tion on the question here discussed in Bishop Marsh's 10th and 12th lectures.

On this subject Dr. Robertson says:

"For neither the obsolete Arabic characters called the Cuphic, which fell into disuse about A. D. 930, nor the alphabet of the Sanscrit in India, a language that has been dead or not currently spoken these 1200 years, nor the Chaldee, Syriac, or Samaritan, nor any other ancient Eastern language that we know of, ever employed vowel points as the modern Jews and Arabs do. The Arabic vowel points came first into use at the time when the modern Arabic alphabet was adopted by order of the Kalif of the Saracens Almuktadir, A. D. 930. The new alphabet was invented by his vizir, Ibn Mukla."

Much pains have been taken to show that without the points the meaning of the language must be doubtful: that some words will bear as many as even hundreds of different meanings: and thence it has been inferred that the language always must have had them. This argument, the fact stated above of several languages being still without them, sufficiently refutes. The imperfection of the language may be a subject of regret, but it cannot be admitted as a proof of the antiquity of the system of pointing against such evidence as is produced. With respect to the mode of obviating this imperfection, it is evident that there is no other way to be adopted, than to consult and compare similar texts with one another, and with the old versions made when the language was still living. For this purpose, in the case of the Pentateuch, the Samaritan and the Latin Vulgate (*a version made from the Hebrew*) may be consulted, and above all the Septuagint, which has been proved, *most decisively* proved by Drs. Grabbe, Hody, and others, to be the LXX. of Ptolemy; and not as some persons have most absurdly imagined, either the version of Aquila, Theodotion, or Symmachus. Persons wishing for more information, may consult Walton's Prolegomena, his Considerator considered, and the works of Dr. Grabbe.

It is said that the Jews in their synagogues in reading their law always read first a passage in the Hebrew, and then the passage in the language of the country, that it might be understood. And in order to pronounce it correctly, the reader for the day always on the day preceding practised his lesson by reading it over from a pointed copy: from this it is inferred, that the points are ancient. But I do not see how this can prove any thing of the kind: for the practice itself was not ancient nor general, as is proved by a curious passage quoted by Buxtorf in his Lexicon Talm. Rabbinicum, from the Talmud of Jerusalem:—

"Rabbi Levi ivit Cæsaream, audiensque eos legentes lectionem "audi Israel" Deut. vi. Hellenistice, voluit impedire ipsos." Vid. Marsh. Mic.

The fact of the service of the Jews being read in the synagogues in countries foreign to Judea, and after their last dispersion, in the Greek language, cannot be doubted, and may be proved from various passages in Tertullian, Origen, Philo, &c. ; but the matter is put out of dispute by a decree of Justinian. A.D. 550, (Novel. 146. Photii Nomocanon xii. 3. also Gothofredi Corpus Juris Civilis. Novel. 146. II. i. 580.) passed for the express purpose of determining the question : for disputes had arisen amongst the Jews on the question, whether their service was to be read in the Hebrew or the Greek. And the Emperor settled it by giving them permission to read the Hebrew if they pleased, *paying a tax for so doing*.

In the synagogues in Egypt and other places, the service, ever after the time of Onias, was read in the Greek language. When the Jewish captives taken by Titus and Vespasian came to be dispersed over the empire, they were not content with this practice of the Hellenistic Jews, which they considered wrong—heretical : and after some time they endeavored to change it, and this was the cause of the disputes ; similar to what had happened before at Cæsarea, when Rabbi Levi found them reading the law HELLENISTIC.

The doctors of the new school, Mirabile dictu ! are actually in support of their system driven to the necessity of maintaining that the LXX. was burnt in the time of Cæsar (though Tertullian witnesses that it was at Alexandria in his time) ; and that Origen in his Heptacta, Jerome, Justinian, and all the Jews were mistaken ; and that all these people, quoting, editing, quarrelling, legislating, never once suspected that they had mistaken the version of Aquila for the Septuagint,—Greek being the vernacular tongue of Origen, and Hebrew of the Jews.

It would occupy too much of your Journal, or else many passages might be produced from the New Testament, and the works of Jerome, Origen, &c. to prove that then authors quoted from unpointed copies. But they may be found in Walton's Prolegomena and in his Considerator considered. Nothing can ~~well be more~~ striking than this fact : yet perhaps one example may not encroach too much on your space.

In the last verse of the 47th chapter of Genesis, Jacob is said in our Bible to have *bowed himself upon the bed's head*. The Vulgate renders this passage, *conversus ad lectuli caput*. The LXX. ἐπὶ τῷ ἄκρῳ τῆς ῥάβδου αὐτοῦ, in *summitatem virgæ suæ*,

upon the top of his staff. Now the word in Hebrew מטה *mt e* means both staff and bed, accordingly as it is pointed; and the makers of the LXX. have evidently made a mistake, which if they had had a pointed copy they would not have done. How absurd to suppose that the old man lying on his death-bed, should bow his head on his walking-staff. The truth of this rendering of the word מטה *mt e* by the word *lectum* and not *virga*, is proved from its repetition in the last verse of the 49th chapter, where it is said, *collegit pedes suos super ictulum*, Vulg.; τοὺς πόδας αὐτοῦ ἐπὶ τῇ κλίνῃ, LXX.

This proves that there were no points when the LXX. was made. St. Paul quoting the passage uses the word *virga*; a proof that he quoted from the LXX., or else that he made a mistake in the Hebrew. And as the latter will not be allowed, it proves against the new school that the version which we have is really the LXX. The Samaritan text and version and the Targum have the same reading as the Vulgate, *lectum*. The Arabic and Syriac versions made from the LXX. of course fall into its mistake. This example also furnishes one proof against the dogma of the new school, that St. Jerome did not understand Hebrew. That he did understand it, and that he used it profitably too, in his Latin version.

I apprehend that when the Hebrew became a dead language, the points were invented by degrees to enable the masters in the schools better to instruct their pupils, and after some time they began to have authority given to them by the Rabbies. No man appears to have taken more trouble to examine the question than Dean Prideaux. From him we learn that all the Rabbinical authors were unpointed in his time, and that all their other books were originally without them, that in some new editions points were put to them, but that the best editions were without them: that they were added to the Targums by Buxtorf, and that they were only a little before his time added to the Mishna and Machzor. Prid. Con. B. 5. p. 422. and p. 429. Ed. 8vo. 1815. I shall now not intrude any further on you than merely to add, that if your readers wish for any more proofs of the modern date of the masoretic points, they may consult the works of the following persons, who all wrote in defence of that doctrine, and by whom the question was considered to be settled:

Capellus, Elias Levitta, Thomas Erpenius, Isaac Casaubon, J. J. Scaliger, Isaac Vossius, J. Drusius, Arnoide Boote, Andrew Rivet, Lewis de Dieu, Grotius, Spanheim, Festus Hommius, Theodore Beza, Selden, Walton, Sennert, Basnage, Burnman, Simon, Limborch, Morinus, Vitringa, Le Clerc, Heu-

man, L'Advocat, Houbicant, Louth, Kennicott, and Marsh. Theol. Lec. P. 2. L. 10. p. 75 ; also see Todd's Life of Walton ; note l. v. 2. p. 322.

Along with the antiquity of the points another doctrine has been revived by the followers of the new school, the falsity of which is really ridiculously evident. They say that God has protected the text of the synagogue Pentateuch, by a miracle, from falling into the errors from transcribers, &c. which has happened to the Gospels, and every other ancient writing : and that in all the synagogues it is the same, and has not a single error, or various reading, though the Gospels are known to have thousands. The Jewish Rabbies maintain this, and hold it up to their devotees as a proof of the truth of their religion, *and of its superiority over the Christian*. They say the Gospels would have been equally protected, if they had been the word of God. A single error in the text will be sufficient to settle this matter. In the 35th chapter of Genesis the 22d verse<sup>1</sup> it is said that the sons of Jacob were twelve. It then gives their names, including Benjamin ; and in verse 26, it states that these sons were born to him in Mesopotamia, or Padan-aram. But at verse 16, the birth of Benjamin is shown to have taken place at Ephrath in Canaan. After Jacob left Padan-aram he lived at Sechem, and bought land there, and afterward lived at Bethel, whence he removed before Benjamin was born : so that it is evident, that several years passed betwixt his leaving Mesopotamia and the birth of Benjamin. It is perfectly clear that there is a mistake in the text, whence it follows that the triumph of the Rabbies over the Christians is totally void of foundation.<sup>1</sup> Mr. Bellamy and Mr. Welbeloved in their new translations have rendered the text very correctly, though they have neither of them made any note on the error,—the accidental interpolation, probably, of the words *בפדן ארם* in *Padan-aram*, from a marginal note, before the LXX. was made.

Another doctrine long since exploded, but now attempted to be revived, is, that the present Hebrew is the letter in which the Pentateuch was written. Your readers may refer to the *Prolegomena* to Walton's Polyglot, to Prideaux's *Connexion*, and to Bishop Marsh's Lectures, where they will find most decisive proofs that the Samaritan was its original letter. But I cannot refrain from naming one very striking and curious circumstance. In compliance (as they believed) with the third commandment, the Jews never spoke or wrote the word Jeho-

<sup>1</sup> I by no means wish to throw any reflection on the respectable elders of the synagogue. G. H.

vah, except on the most solemn occasions. And in ancient times, lest they should write it wrong, or from pious motives, it was always written in their versions in the original untranslated Samaritan letter. Thus it was on the breastplate of the high-priest, and thus it was on the golden plate on his forehead. And we are informed by Jerome, that in his time it was *commonly found* in manuscripts of the Bible, both Greek and Hebrew, written in this character. A more decisive proof that the Samaritan was the ancient letter cannot be desired than this. It is perfectly sufficient and complete; and the testimony of Jerome, *in the way in which it is given*, is totally above the reach of suspicion.

Perhaps it is unnecessary to observe, that it is not so much my object to discuss the question, on which I have slightly touched, as to suggest to your readers who have lately commenced the study of the Hebrew language and its history, where they may find the best authorities on the subject, in order that they may not be misled by the specious and plausible, though unfounded assertions of the new school.

GODFREY HIGGINS.

*Skellow Grange, near Doncaster.*

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NOTICE OF  
BALTHASSARIS CASTILIONII, *Patricii Mantuani Carmina, et alia Opuscula, aucta, emendata, et illustrata. In Padova 1733.*

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IN our first paper on the subject of the modern Latin writers,<sup>1</sup> as it was our wish to afford some notion of the literature of Europe during that period, which is now looked back on as the second dawn of learning, we selected the epistles of a grammarian of the fifteenth century. Under the name of grammarians, it must be understood, are designated the scholars of that age, or rather the schoolmen, who were so instrumental in reviving the dead languages, and restoring them to their pristine dignity and splendor. They were a peculiar set of men, and very different in their thoughts and actions from the beings around them. Devoted to the pages of heathen learning, they thought no sacrifice too great, which might be the means of forwarding

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<sup>1</sup> Class. Journ. No. 61.



them one step towards the attainment of their favorite pursuit;—the language of their country they either did, or affected to despise:—they thought, wrote, and even spoke in Latin. They lectured in the public universities with all the pomp and display of a modern missionary; and would not hesitate to spend their whole fortunes, and even sell their very furniture and necessary articles of life,<sup>1</sup> to acquire a half-eaten, and almost illegible manuscript of Homer or Virgil; and were even so far transported by their blind adoration for antiquity, that they scrupled not to use the most dishonest means in the attainment of their wishes—to steal,<sup>2</sup> borrow under false pretences, or even openly and violently seize on some long-wished-for Mss., was an act which rather redounded to the credit of the perpetrator, as it evinced his devotion to the great sages of heathen literature: and he who could boast of being master of a deced of Livy, was a greater subject of envy, and looked up to with more veneration than the “first Cæsar,” when he placed the imperial diadem on his brows. But notwithstanding all these foibles, which now serve only to elicit our smiles, the lasting obligation which these demi-Roman patriots have conferred on the classic world; the fixed and determined resolution, with which they combated the obstacles that beset their path; the skill with which they dissipated the darkest of those clouds which overhung the literature of antiquity; their decided superiority over the rest of Europe; and lastly, the gratitude we are bound to offer up in return for their exertions:—all these circumstances in their favor induced us to devote one paper to their honor and memory; and this we endeavored to do by selecting from their works a volume which would be found most amusing, and which would at the same time serve as a tolerable specimen of the rest.

We now descend to the subsequent century, which we shall not pass over so expeditiously. Learning appears to have made a very rapid progress within these few years;—a brighter gleam of sunshine bursts over us, as the prospect clears, and becomes more extensive, more diversified, and more beautiful. Italy had hitherto usurped all the knowledge of the times; but the spark, which she had kindled, was now beginning to spread through the other countries of Europe, which were as ambitious to dispute with her the palm in arts, as they had in arms: and though she continued for some time longer to take the lead, she did not stand, as heretofore, unrivalled and alone. The spirit

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<sup>1</sup> Philelp. Epist. 88.    <sup>2</sup> Philelp. Epist. passim.    Sismondi. a.

of chivalry, which was the life and soul of the troubadour poetry, which, it must be remembered, was the only sort of composition that could bear any analogy or lay any claim to the name of literature, among the nations of the south of Europe, had already lost its brightness, its fervor, and fascination; and as mankind were delivered from the restraints of military institutions and feudal despotism, their minds gradually expanded, and their dispositions became more susceptible of refinement, elegance, and eloquence, when the state of society lost that military character which distinguished the earlier ages, and became more domestic and more accordant to the polish of civil government. These, and many other circumstances now unnecessary to enlarge on, tended to the rapid diffusion of useful knowledge, as well as the lighter branches of literature; and as the use of the Latin tongue became more general, it was of course brought to greater purity and perfection.

At this period then we again resume our task, with the same kindly feelings which we before expressed towards neglected genius, and the same sanguine hopes of being able to add somewhat to the amusement, if not to the instruction, of our readers.

The author, whose name stands at the head of this article, as far as regards posthumous fame, has been more fortunate than most of his contemporaries; and yet he has been singularly affected in men's opinions: for although he has managed to survive the wreck, which so many men of equal talent and reputation have sunk under, the best of his productions lies now unheeded or unknown, whilst his Latin poems are overrated and applauded, even beyond what the most sanguine expectations could anticipate. We believe there are few who have not at some time, or by some means, heard the name of Balthassar Castiglione. Many circumstances indeed conspired in his favor to forbid the possibility of his being entirely forgotten by posterity. The very period, and the very country in which he lived, the scenes in which he was destined to take a part, and the good fortune which always smiled on him,—all helped to aggrandise and perpetuate his memory. Born and bred in a court, and that court in those days the great resort of arts and letters—a favorite with the princes whom he successively served, as minister, general, and ambassador—endowed with a form and figure which was striking beyond the generality of mankind—possessed of a refined taste in the polite arts, poetry, painting, and sculpture, with manners attractive, engaging, and popular:—he was naturally calculated to gain the affections of his countrymen, and to be one of the leading men of his times. He resided some time as ambassador in the court of Henry the Eighth, king

of England, and Louis the Twelfth of France; he was the bosom friend of Charles the Fifth, and intimately acquainted with Francis the First. These circumstances in themselves evince him to have been a man of very superior attainments: for it must not be supposed that Castiglione was living in private or retired life during these ages of trouble and confusion; on the contrary, he is entitled to the glory of excelling in arms as he did in arts: he took an active part in the quarrels between the papal and imperial powers, and by his own exertions as captain-general of the church, an honor conferred on him by pope Leo X, maintained successfully for a long time the papal influence. Living then in an age when the human passions were inflamed with more than ordinary virulence by the horrors and miseries of constant warfare, or the still greater violence of religious zeal, and actively employed in promoting the measures of a despotic and bigoted power, he testified the value and superiority of his character by continuing through life to maintain a constant intimacy with four monarchs of such opposite and capricious dispositions as Henry, Louis, Charles, and Francis. His public capacity, and the success as well as splendor of several of his negotiations were sufficient to blazon his name throughout Europe during his own life-time. His intimacy with the eminent literary men of his country, poets, painters, and philosophers, himself perhaps not the least of them; and lastly, the transcendent fame acquired by his "*Courtier*,"<sup>1</sup> a work which ought to exalt him to a rank by the side of Plato, Xenophon, and Cicero, have assisted in creating for him a reputation, the noise of which, though it has now subsided to a murmur, has not altogether died away.

Such is the character of the man, whose Latin poems we are now about to summon before our tribunal. But before we proceed to express our opinions on them, we shall endeavor to show what qualities are requisite to constitute true poetry; in order that we may be able to point out more clearly and candidly the perfections or imperfections of the modern Latinists. This, we think, will be the most impartial way, as it will afford our readers an opportunity of judging how far we are just in our praises or censures, and how far we are authorised in our conclusions and decisions; because we, who are dealing with the dead, are not, or ought not to be, subservient to the "*unhgentle craft*" of modern criticism, but must erect some

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<sup>1</sup> Il Cortegiano del Conte Baldessar Castiglione.

standard of our own, which shall apply to a species of composition, which does not exactly approximate either to that of the ancients or moderns.

Poetry has often been defined, or rather attempted to be so ; but that attempt has always proved imperfect or unintelligible, "et adhuc sub iudice lis est." It still partakes of the "darkness visible;" there is an obscurity hanging about the term, not perhaps so dense as it once was, but yet too shadowy to admit of our seeing clearly into its recesses. It is not an art, nor science; and is no more to be acquired by pursuing any set of rules, than it is to be explained by humble prose, or confined within the narrow limits of a logical definition. It must be discerned by a natural and intuitive impulse, not known by rule; caught up by the imagination, not apprehended by downright reason; rather felt than understood.

"Most wonderful it seems, that man can catch  
The winged thought, and bind it to his page  
Eternal captive there! It is to watch  
That momentary flash, amidst the rage  
Of summer tempests darting through the air,  
And on the canvass fix its waud'ring glare."

The fault then appears to us to have been in attempting to define what is in itself indefinable; and as we are not inclined to break ourselves on the same wheel, we shall rest contented with endeavoring to distinguish the different qualities of poetry, and by showing in what the excellence of each consists. We do not allude to the grand divisions into epic, didactic, dramatic, &c. but the more minute and less obvious distinctions, which take their character from the peculiarity of thought, language, or expression.

The principal requisites then, which are to unite and make up a great poet, are depth and sublimity of thought, fertility of imagination, a command of poetical language, and a power of awakening the passions; and whoever possesses these four attributes, and has withal sufficient good taste to enable him to judge when and where to apply them, must inevitably be a great poet. Simple as this little all may appear, if we except our own immortal Shakspeare, we know not where to find a writer who can boast of so much. Next to him perhaps Dante and Lord Byron were endowed by nature with a genius the most calculated to excel in that singular style of writing, which is understood by the term poetry; not that we mean to say they will take their station in the temple of Fame before Homer or Virgil, Tasso or Ariosto, Milton or Camoens. Art or fortune,

either in the choice of their subjects, or the taste, skill and judgment with which they have treated them, may have rendered these writers greater, or even more deserving favorites with the censors of the literary arena; but we have no hesitation in saying that not one of these great men, not even the sublime and daring Milton, or the gay, fascinating, romantic Ariosto, were gifted with a soul so really and truly cast in a poetic mould, as either Shakspeare, Dante, or Lord Byron.

To return to our former position, there is first what we would call the poetry of idea, which depends more on the depth and originality, than brilliancy of imagination. It is a species of poetry, which is not so much characterised by figurative language, rich fancy, neatness of expression, pathos or feeling, as a singular originality of conception, which summons up before the poet's mind a profusion of ideas, which seem scarcely to partake of an earthly nature, or to be the suggestions of an ordinary mortal. They may be true,\* just, and even philosophical; but they will still bear the same analogy to the more simple effusions of a prosaic mind, which ideal beauty, as shadowed forth in the brighter creations of painting and sculpture, does to the forms and faces we are in the habit of meeting in the reality of life. Of all the writers we are acquainted with, Lord Byron possessed this gift in its greatest splendor. The *Childe Harold* is a poem purely of the ideal nature; there is no regular subject, no story, and hardly any thread or connected narrative, but the whole work is a tissue of the deepest, most sublime, and most poetic ideas and reflections; it is the work of a mind really cast in an unearthly mould, and seeming scarcely to have any thing in common with the generality of mankind. If there could be a class of beings, who held a middle rank between angels and men, more exalted than we in their thoughts, words and actions, and yet not altogether immortal, what we designate by the poetry of idea might be their language. The whole of the *Childe Harold* is an instance of this style of poetry. To select a particular instance, where there are so many, is rather a perplexing task; however, to make ourselves more clearly understood, we may allude to the address to the Ocean in the latter part of the fourth canto, which is remarkable for the singularly striking and poetical nature of the ideas and power of language in which they are expressed. Another example may be drawn from the description of the "*Cascata del marmo*," in the fourth canto, where the poet, after depicting with all the powers of poetry the stupendous appearance of this cascade, bursts out into the following noble exclamation:—

“Look back!

Lo! where it comes like an eternity,  
As if to sweep down all things in its track,  
Charming the eye with dread—a matchless cataract!”

What makes this thought so poetical?—the language is of the simplest nature, such indeed as might be used by the purest writer of prose; there is no picture presented to the mind, which we could take out our pencil and develope; there is nothing which arouses our feelings or passions: and yet no one can read these lines without feeling the deepest pleasure, and that pleasure is created simply and solely by the profound, sublime, and almost tremendous power of the thought. This is what we call the poetry of idea.

Nearly allied to this is what we would denominate the poetry of imagination. This is distinguished by the luxuriance of the poet's fancy, and the vividness with which he embodies the shadowy creations of his brain. It is a species of poetry perhaps more pleasing than that we have just spoken of, though it does not partake of the same power or sublimity. The images which it awakens must not be so trite and familiar as those which commonly occupy our thoughts; neither must they be distorted or unnatural, though not exactly obvious; otherwise they lose their beauty, and affect us with the same unpleasant sensations which we experience in contemplating a monster or a deformity. Another of the great characteristics of this branch of poetry, is the skill with which the writer conjures up at his command a succession of ideal pictures, which flash across the mind of the reader, and appear as clearly and palpably in array before him as if he was actually gazing on the glowing tints of the canvass. We will quote an instance from the Irish Melodies:

“I saw thy form in youthful prime,  
Nor thought that pale decay  
Would steal before the steps of time,  
And waste thy form away.”

Now in this passage it is not the language which makes it so beautiful; the words are by no means poetical; they are such as we should use in common conversation, if we wished to express the same thing. Nor is it the originality of the idea; for we never look on the marked subject for decline, without somewhat of the same sentiment rushing across our minds. But it is the exquisite picture, the almost living and breathing scene, which the poet has conjured up before us. We never read the above passage, without fancying to ourselves a sketch like this:—

in the front of the picture a lovely young girl in the dawn of youth and beauty, and close behind her steps the two tyrants of mortality, Time and Disease ; the first stalking forwards slowly and determinately, as if secure of his prey, and therefore reckless of the moment when he shall commence his attack : then Disease skulking close by him, pale and emaciated, leaning forward with eagerness and anxiety towards his devoted victim, and with out-strained arm and protruded foot, just stealing before his less anxious, but not less terrific adversary.

There is also another species of poetry, which derives its beauty not so much from the imagination of the poet, the sublimity of his ideas, or the brightness of his images, as from the poetical coloring of the language in which his thoughts are expressed. This command of poetical diction is in our opinion an absolute requisite ; for let the ideas of a poem be humble and trite as they will, if the language in which they are clothed be highly wrought, they assume an appearance of novelty and originality, and excite in our breasts some feelings of pleasure and gratification, if not of astonishment or admiration ; but without this artificial dress, all but the most striking and daring thoughts are “stale and unprofitable.” What constitutes the poetry of the Georgics and Seasons ? The bare subject is certainly far from poetical, as the skeleton of all didactic poems must be ; the ideas are such as we daily or hourly hear, whilst conversing with any intelligent farmer, or country gentleman ; the descriptions, if we grant them to be poetical, are so real, so true, and so often before our eyes in our constant walks or rides, that they lose in a great measure their enchantment by being so familiar. What then makes these pieces so fascinating ? Nothing but the exquisite beauty, variety, and real poetry of the language they contain. The veriest prosier could tell you that a rock will cast a shade athwart the evening sun ; but though the idea is neither novel nor striking, it immediately becomes fine poetry, when expressed in such language as this,

*“Saxea procubat umbra.”*

Again, how finely poetical are the expressions, “splendidi mendax”—“flet noctem,” and others of this nature, which lose their whole beauty if attempted to be explained with too much precision, and yet are so readily and easily understood. But we shall perhaps make our meaning more clear by a line from the Italian poet Frugoni, who, in describing the contest between David and Goliath, makes use of the following expression to represent the stone penetrating the forehead of the giant :—

"Vien, e l'immensa fronte urti e percuita,  
E di morte vi stampi orma profonda."<sup>1</sup>

If poetry be ever considered as an art, as distinguished from a natural gift, this undoubtedly is the artificial part of it. Imagination, fancy and invention must be implanted in us with the seeds of life—there are no rules, no study which can teach them; but labor and judgment, though they will not procure a flow of figurative language, may yet enable a poet to express his thoughts with taste, elegance, and perhaps in some degree, with poetical diction. It is this very artificial nature which renders this department of poetry so difficult to excel in. If a man has not a pure and classical taste, but is ever hunting after fine words to decorate and furbish up a common-place idea, he immediately runs into bombast; for this extravagance will always be found to arise more from inflated language than far-fetched or overstrained ideas. This is the rock, on which Lucan and Claudian have split, and so many of our own dramatic poets. They had not judgment enough to clip the exuberance of their diction, or perhaps they were under the dominion of such false taste, as to delight in searching for turgid sounds and pompous words:—but be that as it may, it is by such an outrage to all true poetry that they have marred their fame for ever.

It may be objected, that we are making distinctions which never did, and never were intended to exist; or that each of these individual attributes, unaccompanied by any other faculty, can never produce a poet. But this is incorrect. Perfection indeed cannot exist without combining every beauty; but how little is perfection to be looked for in the works of men! In painting there is many a rough draught, or first sketch, conceived with the highest power and originality: indeed there is a particular school of painting which excels in this bold, unfinished and unpolished style, so remarkable for its daring and lofty spirit; this is our poetry of idea. There is another style of painting, which founds its claim to our admiration solely

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<sup>1</sup> The same expression is used in the Childe Harold, only applied to a different subject:

"How the giant element  
From rock to rock leaps with delirious bound,  
Crushing the cliffs, which, downward worn and rent  
With his fierce footsteps, yield in chasms a fearful vent  
To the broad column, which rolls on—"

Canto iv. 60.



on the elegance of grouping, richness of fancy, and variety of subject; this is our poetry of the imagination. Lastly, there are many artists, whose fame depends more on the peculiar brilliancy of their coloring, their taste and polished execution, and the address with which they render a trite and common subject interesting, than either sublimity of conception, or variety of incident; this is our poetry of language. The greatest poet, like the greatest painter, is he, who can combine and concentrate in his own works the greatest display of those properties, which are the distinguishing beauties of other artists.

*Various renderings of Passages in the New Testament,  
by several of the most distinguished English trans-  
lators.*

No. II.—[Continued from No. LXIV.]

MARK I. 4. John *accordingly* baptized, &c. I. V. —*Accordingly* came John baptizing, &c. Wakef. Thus came John baptizing, and publishing the baptism of reformation. Camp.

5. Upon confession of their sins. Wakef.

8. He will baptize you in a holy spirit. Wakef. —in the Holy Spirit. Camp.

10. *John* saw the heavens open. Wakef. He saw the sky part asunder. Camp.

15. The reign of God approacheth, reform and believe the good tidings. Camp.

22. Were astonished at his manner of teaching. Camp. Wakef.

27. What new teaching is this? Camp. —kind of teaching. Wakef.

38. Let us go to the neighbouring boroughs to proclaim [the reign] there also. Camp.

II. 10. That ye may know the Son of man to have authority upon earth to forgive sins. Wakef.

12. We never saw any thing like this. Camp.

15. And many tax-gatherers and heathens were eating in the house at the same table with Jesus. Wakef. Many publicans and sinners placed themselves at the table with Jesus. I. V. —placed themselves with Jesus. New.

17. I came not to call righteous men, but sinners. I. V. New. I came not to call the righteous, but sinners to reformation. Camp.

26. Did ye never read what David and his attendants did, in a strait, when they were hungry? Camp. Have ye never read what David did when hunger prest him, he and his companions? Wakef.

III. 29. Whosoever shall speak evil against the holy spirit, he hath no forgiveness in this age, but is in danger of eternal punishment. Wakef. Whosoever shall detract from the Holy Spirit shall never be pardoned, but is liable to eternal punishment. Camp.

32. Behold thy mother and thy brethren and thy sisters stand without and seek thee. I. V. New. Behold thy mother and thy brethren without are seeking thee. Wakef.

IV. 11. It is your privilege to know the secrets of the reign of God. Camp.

12. Inasmuch as they see clearly, and perceive not; and hear plainly, but understand not, so as to turn to me, and have their sins forgiven them. Wakef. So that seeing they see and do not perceive; and hearing they hear and do not understand, neither are they converted and forgiven. I. V. New.

19. The deceitfulness of riches, and other lusts coming upon them together choke the word. Wakef.

24. To you, who are attentive, more shall be added. Camp. The measure, which ye give, will be given to you, who hear, in abundance. Wakef.—[Newcome and the Impr. Vers. omit the phrase 'and unto you that hear shall more be given.']

41. Who then is this; when even the wind, &c. Wakef. Who is this, whom even the wind, &c. Camp. Who is this, that even the wind, &c. New. I. V.

V. 7. What hast thou to do with me, Jesus, Son of the most high God. Camp. Wakef.

23. Come lay thy hands on her, that she may recover and live. Wakef.

34. Thy faith hath made thee well: go in peace and continue free from thy disorder. Wakef.

35. Why troublest thou the Teacher? I. V. New. in marg.

VI. 4. And they revolted at him. Wakef. And they were scandalized at him. Camp. And he was unto them a cause of offending. New. I. V.

5. And he would not do any mighty work, &c. I. V.

11. In a day of punishment. Wakef. [Newcome and the Impr. Vers. omit the latter clause of this verse. 'Verily I say,' &c.]

18. For John was constantly saying to Herod. Wakef.

33. And many distinguished him *among them*. Wakef.

46. And when he had bidden the people farewell. New.

48. And was intending to pass by them. Wakef. And seemed intending to pass by them. Camp.

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50. For they all saw him and were terrified. Camp. —affrighted. New. in marg.

52. For they were not brought to a *right* understanding of him by *the miracle* of the loaves. Wakef. For their minds were so stupified, that they never reflected upon the loaves. Camp.

56. And as many as touched it. Wakef. I. V. New.

VII. 3. For the Pharisees and all the Jews never eat without throwing a handful of water over their hands. Wakef. —eat not until they have washed their hands by pouring a little water upon them. Camp. —unless they wash their hands diligently. New. I. V.

4. —baptisms of cups, &c. Camp.

8. For ye have let go the commandment of God, but hold the tradition of men. Wakef.

VIII. 11. And in order to prove him, demanded of him a sign in the sky. Camp.

24. Having looked up, he said, I see men, whom I distinguish from trees only by their walking. Camp.

32. This he spoke so plainly. Camp. And he was telling them this information with great plainness. Wakef.

33. Get thee hence, adversary, for thou dost not relish the things of God. Camp. —for thou regardest not the things which are of God. New. I. V. —mindest. Wakef.

34. Whosoever wisheth to go with me. Wakef. Is any man willing to come under my guidance? Camp.

36. 37. For what will it profit a man, if he gain the whole world and lose his life? or what can a man give to redeem his life? Wakef. What would it profit a man, if he should gain the whole world, with the forfeit of his life? or what will a man not give in ransom for his life? Camp. —forfeit his own life. New. I. V. —as a ransom for his life. I. V. —in exchange for. New.

IX. 5. It is better for us to be here. Wakef.

7. This is my Son, that beloved *Son*, hear him. Wakef.

10. And they kept the matter with themselves. New. I. V. And they took notice of that expression. Camp. And they laid hold on that saying. Wakef.

12. And (as it is written also concerning the Son of man) to suffer, &c. Wakef. And (as it is written of the Son of man) must likewise suffer, &c. Camp.

24. Master, I do believe; help thou the weakness of my faith. Wakef. —supply thou the defects of my faith. Camp.

29. This kind of *demons* can come out by nothing but by prayer and fasting. I. V. New. This kind cannot be dislodged, Camp. This kind of faith can only be produced by prayer and fasting. Wakef.

42. And whosoever shall lead into sin one of these lowly *disciples* who believe in me. Wakef.

43. If thy hand ensnare thee. Camp. If thy hand be leading thee to sin. Wakef. —cause thee to offend. New. I. V.

X. 13. And they kept bringing little children to him. Wakef.

14. Suffer these little children. Wakef. Suffer the little children. I. V. New. Allow the little children. Camp.

21. Then Jesus looked earnestly upon him with fondness. Wakef.

23. How hardly will they that have riches come into the kingdom of God. Wakef. With what difficulty will those, &c. I. V. New.

26. What *rich man* then can be saved? Wakef.

27. With men *it may be* impossible. Wakef. To men it is impossible. Camp.

29. Not one *of you* hath given up, &c. Wakef.

32. Jesus kept going before them, and they were following in astonishment and fear. Wakef. —a panic seized them, and they followed him with terror. Camp.

42. Ye know that those who seem worthy to rule over the Gentiles have dominion over them. New. Ye know that the rulers of the Gentiles exercise a harsh authority. Wakef.

XI. 13. For the season of gathering figs was not yet *come*. Wakef. New. I. V. —the fig-harvest was not yet. Camp.

21. Behold the fig-tree which thou hast devoted, already withered. Camp. —which thou didst devote. New. I. V.

30. Was the title, which John had to baptize, from heaven, or from men? Camp.

32. For they all held John to be a true teacher. Wakef.

XII. 10. A stone which the builders rejected. Camp.

24. Is not this the source of your error, your not knowing the Scriptures, nor the power of God? Camp.

25. They will then resemble the heavenly messengers. Camp.

27. Ye therefore greatly deceive yourselves. Wakef.

37. And the multitude, *which was* great, was listening to him gladly. Wakef. And the multitude of the people heard him gladly. New. I. V.

40. And pray at the same time with a long preamble. Wakef.

XIII. 14. But when ye see that destructive abomination, &c. Wakef. —desolating abomination. Camp. New.

18. And pray that your flight be not in rainy weather. Wakef.

22. And will propose signs and wonders. Wakef. I. V.

34. For it is like a man, &c. Wakef. \*When a man intendeth to travel, &c. Camp.

XIV. 1. Now after two days was the passover and the *time of* unleavened bread. Wakef. —and the feast of unleavened, &c. I. V. New.

3. And after shaking the box together. Wakef. —she shook the box. New.

8. She hath anointed my body beforehand for its embalment. Wakef. —embalming. I. V. New.

15. And he will show you a large upper room, ready, spread with carpets. Wakef.

20. *It is* one of these twelve, *one* that is dipping his hand with me in this dish. Wakef.

21. The Son of man indeed is going to suffer death. Wakef.

22. Jesus took a loaf, and after blessing *God*, brake it, &c. Wakef.

23. And when he had given thanks *to God*. Wakef.

27. All of you will offend because of me. I. V. New. Ye will all forsake me. Wakef. This night I will prove a stumbling-stone to you all. Camp.

31. But *Peter* said again and again; If I must die with thee, I will in no wise deny thee. Wakef.

34. Stay ye here and keep awake. Wakef.

38. Watch and pray that ye come not into *these* trials. Wakef.

41. Do ye still sleep, and take your rest? It is all over. Wakef. It is done. I. V. New. All is over. Camp.

48. Am I a murderer, that ye are come out in a body against me, &c. Wakef.

64. Ye have heard this wicked speech. Wakef.

XV. 10. For he knew that the chief priests had delivered him up through hatred. Wakef.

19. And they kept smiting his head, &c. Wakef.

47. And Mary Magdalene, and Mary *the mother of* *Joses*, were looking on while he laid it there. Wakef.

XVI. 12. But after this he showed himself in another dress to two of them. Wakef.

18. They shall speak languages unknown to them *before*. Camp.

20. Confirming their preaching by the presence of *these* *very* miracles. Wakef.

LUKE I. 1. — a narrative of those things which have been accomplished amongst us. Camp. — an account of those things, about which we have been fully satisfied. Wakef.

8. 9. Now it came to pass, as the priests of his order were attending on their ministry before *God*, that he was appointed by lot, according to the custom of the priesthood, to go, &c. Wakef.

17. And he will lead the way in the sight of *God*, with the spirit and power, &c. Wakef. And he shall go before *Christ*, in the sight of *the Lord God*, with the spirit and power, &c. New. I. Moreover, he shall go before them in the spirit and power, &c. Camp.

20. And behold thou shalt be silent. Wakef.

25. Hath the Lord *then* dealt thus with me? Wakef.

28. Hail! gracious woman! Wakef.

35. A Holy Spirit will come upon thee. Wakef. Therefore the

holy progeny shall be called the Son of God. Camp. Therefore thy offspring will be holy, and a son of God. Wakef.

45. And happy is she, who believed that the things told her from the Lord would be accomplished. Wakef. —who believed that there would be a performance of those things, &c. New. I. V. —who believed that the things which the Lord hath promised her, shall be performed. Camp.

51. He displayeth the strength of his arm, and dispelleth the vain imaginations of the proud. Camp. —he scattereth those who are proud in the imagination of their hearts. I. V. New. —he scattereth abroad the puffed up with the imagination of their heart. Wakef.

64. Then the mouth and tongue of *John* were immediately set free ; and he continued speaking, and blessing God. Wakef.

76. And thou, child ! wilt be a teacher of the most high *God*. Wakef.

80. Now the child grew, and acquired strength of mind. Camp. So the child went on thriving, and growing strong in understanding. Wakef.

II. 1. That all the earth should be enrolled. New. I. V. That all the inhabitants of the empire should be registered. Camp. That all the world should register themselves. Wakef.

7. Because there was no room for them in the guest-chamber. Wakef. —in the house allotted to strangers. Camp.

14. And the peace of his good-will to men on earth. Wakef.

30. For mine eyes have seen the Saviour. Camp.

34. And to serve as a mark of contradiction. Camp.

35. So that the reasonings of many hearts will be revealed. Wakef.

40. And the child was filled with wisdom, as he grew, and gained strength : and a divine comeliness was upon him. Wakef. —and adorned with a divine gracefulness. Camp.

49. Knew ye not that I must be at my Father's ? Camp. —that I must need be in my Father's house ? New. I. V. —that I ought to be in my Father's house ? Wakef.

52. — and in power with God and man. Camp. —and comeliness in the sight of God and man. Wakef.

III. 2. A command from God was upon John. Wakef.

6. That all flesh may see the Saviour [sent] of God. Camp.

16. He will baptize you in a holy wind and a fire. Wakef.

18. And many other glad tidings also he preached to the people, exhorting *them*. I. V. New. And with many other exhortations, he published the good tidings to the people. Camp.

IV. 1. Full of a holy spirit. Wakef.

3. As thou art the Son of God. Wakef.

4. Man liveth not by bread only, but by whatever God pleaseth. Camp. —but by every declaration of God. Wakef.

15. And he taught in their synagogues with universal applause. Camp.

34. What hast thou to do with us? Wakef. Camp.

36. What a voice is this! With authority and power it commandeth these unclean spirits, and they come out. Wakef.

V. 11. Henceforth thou shalt catch men alive. Wakef.

21. Who is this *man* that speaketh so wickedly? Wakef.

24. The Son of man hath authority. Wakef.

26. We have seen incredible things to-day. Camp. —unexpected things. Wakef.

39. For he saith, 'The old is milder.' Camp.

VI. 11. Then they were wholly confounded, and continued debating with each other what they could do to Jesus. Wakef.

12. And continued awake all night in the house of prayer to God. Wakef. And spent the whole night in an oratory. Camp.

32. For if ye love them who love you, what is your reward? Wakef. For if ye love those [only] who love you, what thanks are ye entitled to? Camp.

35. Do good and lend, no wise despairing. Camp. —giving up nothing for lost. Wakef.

37. Release, and ye shall be released. Camp.

40. But every one that is perfected shall be as his teacher. I. V. But let every *disciple* be duly prepared as his teacher. Wakef. But every finished disciple shall be as his teacher. Camp.

41. Why beholdest thou the splinter, &c. New. I. V. Wakef. But perceivest not the thorn in thine own eye? Camp.

VII. 21. At that very time Jesus was delivering many, &c. Camp. Now in that very hour he had cured, &c. I. V. New.

29. All the people, even the publicans, who heard John, have, by receiving baptism from him, honoured God. Camp. And all the people and the tax-gatherers thankfully received the kindness of God, and listened to John, and were baptized with his baptism. Wakef. —acknowledged the mercy of God and were baptized with the baptism of John. I. V. —have justified *the ways of God*, having been baptized, &c. New.

VIII. 8. Upon saying these things, he cried out as usual. Wakef.

28. What hast thou to do with me? Camp. Wakef.

31. And *the demons* entreated him, that he would not command them to go away into the bottomless pit. Wakef. —the deep pit. New. —the abyss. I. V. Camp.

IX. 33. Master, it is better for us to continue here. Wakef.

X. 6. And if a son of peace be there, your peace shall rest upon him. Camp.

30. When Jesus took up *his question*, and said. Wakef. A man of *Galilee*, travelling to Jericho, &c. Camp. A man of Jerusalem on his way to Jericho fell among murderers. Wakef.

41. 42. Martha! Martha! thou art troubling and perplexing thyself about many *dishes*, when only one is needful: now Mary hath chosen for herself that good portion *of the entertainment*, which shall not be taken away from her. Wakef.

XI. 1. And it came to pass, after *Jesus* had been praying in a house of prayer. Wakef.

4. For we also forgive every one, that doeth wrong to us. Wakef. —all who offend us. Camp. —every one who trespasseth against us. New. I. V.

13. If ye therefore, bad as ye are, can give good things to your children; how much more will your Father give from heaven the Holy Spirit to them that ask him? Camp.

16. Others, to try him, asked of him a sign in the sky. Camp.

19. They therefore shall condemn you. Wakef.

31. A queen of the south will rise up in the place of judgment. Wakef.

34. When therefore thine eye is sound. Wakef. Camp. —clear. I. V. New.

40. Doth not he, who cleaneth the outside, usually clean the inside also? Wakef.

44. For ye are like decayed tombs. Wakef.

XII. 25. Which of you can, by his anxiety, prolong his life one hour? Camp. Which of you, with all his anxiety, can add a single cubit to his life? Wakef.

27. Solomon in his brightest raiment. Wakef.

34. For where your treasure is, there let your heart be also. Wakef.

46. Will assign him his portion with the faithless. Camp. —the unfaithful. I. V. New. —the infidels. Wakef.

49. I came to put fire in the earth; and what wish I *more*, since it is already kindled? Wakef. —and what would I, but that it were kindled? Camp. —and what do I desire, if it be already kindled? New. —and what do I desire? O that it were already kindled. I. V.

XIII. 1. Now some came to tell *Jesus* at the time, &c. Wakef.

24. Force your entrance through the straight gate. Camp.

32. And on the third day I end my course. Wakef. And the third day my course will be completed. Camp.

33. But I must go on to-day and to-morrow; and on the third day must I die. Wakef. However, I must needs *continue my course* to-day and to-morrow; and depart the day following. I. V. New.

XIV. 7. Observing how eager the guests were to possess the higher places at table, he gave them this injunction. Camp.

18. And they all began to excuse themselves alike. Wakef.

35. It is not fit even to manure the land; but is thrown away. Wakef.



XV. 7. I say unto you, that more joy likewise will be in heaven over one sinner that repenteth, than *there can be* over ninety and nine righteous *persons*, that need no repentance. Wakef.

16. Yet no one gave him any food. Wakef. For nobody gave him aught. Camp.

25. Now his elder son was at the farm; but on his return, &c. Wakef.

## NOTICE OF

*The FUNDAMENTAL WORDS of the GREEK LANGUAGE, adapted to the Memory of the Student by means of Derivations and Derivatives, Passages from the Classical Writers, and other Associations.* BY F. VALPY, M. A. TRIN. COLL. CAMB. Whittaker : London, 1826.

THE idea of this work cannot be called original. We have before us a work by Dr. Nugent, which he translated from the French of the Port-Royal, and in which the roots of the Greek language are arranged in alphabetical order. But the Greek words are divided into three alphabets; and the difficulty of finding them is thus great. Many words, which are of use only to the lexicographer, are inserted. At the top of each page are placed the roots. Below are placed what are called the derivatives; but are often called so very absurdly. For various meanings are here added to those of the words of the text, totally distinct from those in the text. And the different meanings of words are crowded together without any order or connexion. In the last edition are added, between the roots and the derivatives, derivations of a vast many Greek words by the Rev. Mr. Ellis; but such derivations as were never exceeded in folly and stupidity by any which have yet been proposed to the literary world. The work of Nugent closes by a number of English words which are said to be allied to the Greek, "either by etymology or by allusion." This word *allusion* has given a vast field for the most fanciful chimeras from the pen of the Rev. Mr. Upton.

A second work before us on the Greek Roots is by Mr. Booth, which professes to be, "upon a new plan of arrangement." The arrangement is made to depend on the terminations, which produce distinct alphabetical series. The first declension is divided into two alphabets. The third into no less than thirty-two alphabets. On the same plan the verbs are arranged. We can see a

benefit whatever arising from this classification; and, as there is no index, it appears to us extremely cumbrous and unsuited to practical purposes. Nor do we perceive that this work in any other respects presents any particular advantage.

A third publication is by Mr. Howard; which is certainly ingeniously arranged. The words comprehended under any particular subject, as plants, kitchen-utensils, implements of husbandry, the senses, &c., are brought together under separate heads. But there are too many words introduced to allow us to suppose that, unassisted as the memory is left in every other respect, they could be learnt by a pupil. Portions, it is true, might be learnt from time to time; but the memory could retain but few of the words long. Even the arrangement perhaps is not attended with those effects which might be supposed. For the name of one plant, for instance, does not lead to the name of another, except by the alphabetical series, which, however, would be much too uncertain and fallacious a guide. We observe some little stories, properties of plants, &c. subjoined to some of the words, which are interesting without a doubt, but seem to us foreign from the design of such a publication.

We have seen other works on the *Roots of the Greek Language*; but these have been on too confined a plan to admit here of any further notice. The only work which will arrest our attention, before we proceed to the consideration of that which we have placed at the head of this article, is one by Mr. Hall, the plan of which appears to us to be more similar to that of the work under review than any which we have seen. It is a work on the *Roots of the Latin Language*, "simplified," as the writer announces, "by a display of their incorporation into the English tongue." There are too many distinct alphabets in this publication. There are too many uncommon words put down as being English words. *Avenage*, *Curiality*, *Setaceous*, *Rimose*, *Micacious*, *Cachinnation*, *Cibarious*, *Balneation*, *Parietal*, are some of a catalogue of words which produce at least as much difficulty to a beginner as the Latin words *Avēna*, *Curia*, *Seta*, *Rima*, *Mica*, *Cachinnus*, *Cibus*, *Balneum*, *Paries* could do. The derivative words, set down as proceeding from the roots, are often too doubtful or too certainly false to be admitted. As when *Trabs* is said to come from *Trans-via*; *Vomer* from *Vomo-terra*; *Singultus* from *Sonus-gula*. We observe that *Percussio* is stated to come from *Cudo*; and we have observed other mistakes which demand correction. The writer has given Latin sentences exemplificative of the roots introduced, and these sentences are translated. But this work omits many necessary roots; and the names of plants are of very rare occurrence. We give the opening:

Meaning.	Latin word.	English Derivative.
Wing	ala	alacrity
Anchor	anchora	anchorage

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Hand-maid	ancilla	ancillary
Water	aqua	aquatic
Eagle	aquila	aquiline
Altar	ara	Arabella
Chest	arca	ark
Sand	arèna	an arena
Hall	aula	hall
Breeze	aura	air.

We shall just observe on these, that *Alacrity* is not likely to come from *Ala*, as the quantity of the initial syllables is different; that *Ancillary* is too uncommon a word; that *Arabella* is not derived in a probable manner, nor would it assist the student, if it were; that *Air* does not come from *Aura*. We observe, however, a good deal to praise in this publication. It contains useful information on the derivation of some English words; and, if the writer attends to the few hints we have given him, we shall think his production a very useful addition to our School Books.

We proceed to Mr. Valpy's work on the *Fundamental Words of the Greek Language*; which, as we have stated, is somewhat like that of Mr. Hall; but has many advantages over it. For it has only one alphabet; unless the Additions should be taken into the account, which are however not a necessarily different series, and which will be of course introduced hereafter into the body of the work, should it see the dawn of another edition. We in part except also a very singular appendix to the work. We say, "in part;" for the words, which form this singular appendix, are already contained in the body of the work. Another advantage is, that the English derivative words are less unknown than many in Mr. Hall's publication; or, when little known, seem to be generally accompanied with a quotation from writers who use them. Another is, that the Greek derivative words, at least those in the text, appear to stand on firmer foundation. We speak of those in the text; for we observe some derivations in the notes to which we cannot assent, but which are generally supported however by the authority of some venerable scholar. The writer himself also observes in his Preface that the derivations in the notes are often of a suspicious nature. A fourth advantage is, that this work seems to embrace nearly all such words as are wanted by the general scholar. The writer states that he has not interested himself about the technical terms in Aristotle on Animals, Dioscorides on Plants, &c. We observe that a vast many words, occurring in Athenæus, are omitted; we suppose on the same grounds. And indeed where is the general Greek reader—where even is the scholar—who cares to know the English terms of science which correspond to those which we meet with in that wonderful farrago of Greek out-of-the-way words, the Deipnosophists of Athenæus? The same thing we observe too in regard to the plants and animals

in Nicander and Oppian. But the same remark is perhaps applicable to these which we have just applied to Athenæus. ✦

The object of this publication is avowedly to assist the memory of the student; and, were English students of the Greek language more concerned than they choose to feel themselves in the attainment of that language, we could promise the writer abundant success. We promise him success with the attentive and industrious student, who is really obliged to every one who helps him on his way, and receives with open arms every thing which promises to smooth the asperities of the road to classic literature. But such a student is of rare occurrence. How few of such a cast exist, compared to those idle sportive lads who, reckless of improvement and careless of committing to memory the meaning or the derivation of words, only serve the object of the present moment by searching for the meaning of a word—and, at the end of five years' reading, (if the term may be perverted to so farcical a use) are ignorant of many common words and many clear derivations.

The method which this writer adopts of impressing Greek words on the student is fourfold. The first is by tracing Greek words nearer to their roots. The second is by tracing Greek words to Greek, Latin or English words, which have sprung from them. The third is by annexing passages from Greek writers. And the fourth (which is the only method admitting of cavil, but apparently is not often used, except in the case of the appendix we have alluded to) is by fanciful combinations. As *βάτος ἄβατος*; *χιλὸς χιλίοισιν ἵπποισιν*; *τυντλάζω*, *TUNDO glebas*, &c. Some doubtless are legitimate; as where *ρεῖκος* is illustrated by the tragedian's pun on *Polynices*; and as in the alliterative words of Homer, *Χύντο χαμαὶ χολάδες*. However, we may well excuse a little disputable matter here, being, as it really occasionally is, of use in impressing words on the memory. And we must take into the account the almost irresistible tendencies which, in following up a favorite plan, are wont to entice and to seduce.

Before, however, we proceed, we must notice to our readers once more the curious addition which is inserted at the end of the work. The writer makes a decent apology for it; and, for our own parts, we accept his *amende honorable*. We will not promise, however, that others will be equally courteous. This addition consists of a "fanciful" method of impressing on the mind certain Greek names of plants and animals, which the writer "has left in the body of the work without any association." *Ἀβρόνον* is, *southernwood*. The writer obtains by transposition the word (or rather the letters) *ἀβρόνοντον*: and *νόρον*, which terminates it, is the *south-wind*. Again: *Ἀγχουσα* is the herb *Alkanet*. The masculine of the participle is *ἄγχων*. The writer annexes the sentence *Ἀλκείδης ἄγχων τὸν λέοντα*: in which the word *Ἀλκείδης* is to recall to the mind the word *Alkanet*. But we will leave the regions of fancy for more solid ground.

In regard to the first method this writer has employed, we observe that he has availed himself largely of the labors of Lennep, of Valckenaër, of Hemsterhusius, and of Blomfield. He could not have taken higher ground. Lennep is doubtless often fanciful, and the latter part of his work he has left in a very unfinished state; but he has given us some highly probable conjectures of his own, while he has omitted antecedent absurdities. It is greatly to be regretted that the rambling and lengthy guesses of Scheide, who professed to make up the deficiencies of Lennep, have been added to Lennep's work. We agree, for the most part, with the writer of the Preface to the English Translation of Matthiæ's Greek Grammar in his severe animadversions of Scheide. Were Scheide's additions correct, they still would have very little to do with Lennep's etymologies, as they seem to be rather directed to the derivation of the Latin from the Greek, than to that of the Greek from itself.

It is probable that Lennep and Valckenaër have been sometimes misled by their desire to form the Greek from its own resources. There must be a bound to the analysis and decomposition of Greek words. When we hear that  $\beta\acute{\alpha}\omega$  is merely the addition of  $\beta$  to  $\acute{\alpha}\omega$ , one of the supposed five radical combinations, we may ask why was  $\beta$  chosen to give to  $\acute{\alpha}\omega$  the particular senses which  $\beta\acute{\alpha}\omega$  bears? That the letters  $\xi$ ,  $\rho$ ,  $\psi$ ,  $\lambda$ ,  $\sigma$ , might give the ideas of harshness, roughness, softness, and sibilance, we may grant; but many consonants seem to carry with them no ideas; and how does the letter  $\beta$  carry with it the idea of tendency which  $\beta\acute{\alpha}\omega$  expresses? It is not enough then to say vaguely with Lennep that  $\beta\acute{\alpha}\omega$  is nothing but the radical  $\acute{\alpha}\omega$  to which  $\beta$  is prefixed. However, we lose nothing by ingenious conjectures; and, if the Greek language finds in following ages as able decomposers of it as it has done in the two or three last centuries, it will probably hereafter appear still more indebted to its own native strength than it does at present. While the Lennepian school considers the Greek as an aboriginal language, others find the root of it in the Hebrew or the Chaldaic, and others in the Gothic and Scythian; and others are strenuous in the assertion that Greek, as well as Gothic, is ultimately bottomed on the Hebrew, which they maintain to be the primary language of the world.

We will present to the reader the Author's observations on  $\psi\acute{\alpha}\omega$  and  $\xi\acute{\epsilon}\omega$ , as being connected with the subject we have just spoken of.

**ΨΑΩ.** 'Every Greek word beginning with  $\psi$  springs from one of these five forms,  $\psi\acute{\alpha}\omega$ ,  $\psi\acute{\epsilon}\omega$ ,  $\psi\acute{\iota}\omega$ ,  $\psi\acute{\omicron}\omega$ ,  $\psi\acute{\omega}\omega$ : all derived from one root. The primary meaning is, *rado, I scrape*. Hence they have the notions of attenuating, rubbing off, and making warm. For by scraping we attenuate and make less; by scraping we rub off the dust; by scraping we make warm.' Vκ. From these verbs are others:  $\psi\acute{\eta}\mu\iota$ ,  $\psi\acute{\alpha}\nu\omega$ ,  $\psi\acute{\alpha}\lambda\omega$ ,  $\psi\acute{\alpha}\rho\omega$ ,  $\psi\acute{\alpha}\lambda\lambda\omega$ ,  $\psi\acute{\eta}\chi\omega$ ,  $\psi\acute{\omicron}\iota\omega$ , &c. 'I would translate,' says Bl., 'I scrape;  $\psi\acute{\alpha}\nu\omega$ , I touch;  $\psi\acute{\alpha}\rho\omega$ , I graze or raze.' Perhaps the best generic name of these verbs is that of brushing or drawing the hand over any surface.  $\psi\acute{\alpha}\lambda\lambda\omega$  is applied to drawing the hand over a harp or lyre. Fr. γρ.  $\xi\psi\acute{\alpha}\lambda\mu\alpha\iota$ ,  $\xi\psi\acute{\alpha}\lambda\mu\omega$ , the sound made by the harp or lyre thus brushed or swept with the hand; and hence *psalm, psalm-ody*.

*Ξάω, ξέω, ξίω, ξόω, ξύω*, appear to have been various verbs, derived from the harsh letter *ξ*, and expressing any thing which gives a harsh or grating sound. Cicero calls this letter 'vastior littera,' and believes that the 'consuetudo elegans' of the Latin language has exterminated it from various words.

Nor can we refrain from quoting the writer's remarks on the words *βάλλω* and *βάθος*.

*Βάλλω*, &c. : It is curious to observe from what few roots the Greeks formed that part of the language which may be called their own. For the names which they gave to animals, herbs, and minerals were generally foreign words. The facility of formation was sometimes derived from the flexibility of the form of their verbs. Thus the verb *βάλλω* (or whatever was the original word) admitted the forms *βέλω, βόλω, βάλλω, βλάω, βλέω, βλίω, βλόω, βλύω*. And from these forms sprang *βέλος, βελόνη, βόλιτον, βύλιτον, βολή, βουλή, βούλομαι, βάλανος, βαλάντιον, βαλβίς, βλάπτω, βλαστέω, βλέπω, βλήτρον, βλίττω, βλύζω, βλώθω, βλωθρός*, and others. From *ἄκω* were *ἀκαίνω*, wh. *ἄκαινα, ἄκανθα*; *ἀκέω*, wh. *ἄκεστρα*; *ἀκόω*, wh. *ἄκοη, ἀκούω*. Sometimes it arose from the changes in the tenses : Thus from *ἄγω*, the present, were\* formed *ἄγος, ἄγων, ἄγρος, ἄγριος*, &c. ; from *ἄξω*, the future, were *ἄξων, ἄξιος* ; from *ἄκται*, the perf. pass., was *ἄκτωρ*. It will be manifest from this consideration that, by not attending to the derivations of Greek words, we introduce into the Greek language a vast many more native roots than that language really contains.

*Βάθος*. Objection will perhaps be made to the system adopted through this work of forming words from passive first aorists. But in truth it is not to be objected to. In the first place, there can be no reason why this tense should not be used in forming words. Then, how shall the *θ* be accounted for ? That *νήθω* is from *νέω*, is allowed. If we derive it from the first aorist *ἐνήθην*, the origin of *θ* in this word is manifest. So in *πλήθω* from *πλέω*, *βλώθω* from *βλόω*, *θ* can be accounted for from *ἐπλήθην, ἐβλώθην*. This formation will also account for *ὀρεχθέω* from *ὀρέχθην, ἄρρορον* from *ἄρθην, σκαρθμός* from *ἐσκάρθην, σταθερός* from *ἐστάθην, ψαθυρός* from *ἐψάθην, ἰχθύς* from *ἰχθην*. This last indeed may be formed from the perf. pass. infin. *ἰχθαι*. But this will not apply to all the words, which are mentioned. And indeed did it apply to all, there would be no need for dispute, whether we should refer such derivatives to the perfect infinitive passive, or to the first aorist passive ; it would be perfectly indifferent. In either case the *θ* would be accounted for.

Mr. Valpy has worked out his derivations with much precision. Thus *σχόινος* is 'for *σχῶινος* from *ἐσχοα* pm. of *σχέω*.' *Σχέτλιος* is 'from *ἐσχεται* pp. of *σχέω*=*ἐσχω*=*ἔχω*.' "*Ἰμερος* is 'fr. *ἵμαι* pp. of *ἵω*, I send. "*Ἰεμαι*, I send or impel myself.' He has made attempts at original derivation. Thus *χόνδρος* he supposes to have meant originally a lump of DUNG ; and derives it through *χόδρος* from *κέχθοδα* perfect middle of *χέζω*. *Αἰρέω* he derives from *α* and *ἵται* perfect passive of *ἵω*, to go ; and cites the line of Homer : *Βῆ δ' ἵμεν αἰτήσων*, &c. *Θῶψ* he derives from *θέω*, to place, and *ῶψ*, the face ; comparing the expression of Tacitus, *Falsi vultu-que composito* ; and of Shakspeare : And *FRAME* my *FACE* to all occasions. We think he has made some good remarks on the derivations of some classes of words, as *σκήνη, σκότος, σκύνζομαι, σκυθρός, σκύνος, σκύνιον* ; *πάλαι, πάλη, παλάμη, παλαιστή, παλαμναῖος, παλάσσομαι, πάλη, πάλιν*, &c.

We follow him to his second method, that of impressing Greek words by derivatives. '*Σκῆπτω*, I rest as on a staff. Hence *σκήπ-*

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τρον, a *sceptre*, the staff of princes.' 'Σκόλοψ, a sharp point. Hence σκολοπένδρα, a *scolopendra*, for σκολοπέδρα from σκόλοψ, οπος, and ἔδρα. An animal whose seat or tail is composed of two sharp points.' 'Παθέω, I suffer. Hence *sympathy* or fellow-suffering; *apathy*, want of fellow-suffering; *pathos*, *pathetic*.'

ΠΑΙΣ, gen. παιδός: a boy or girl, child; a boy, servant.—H. *pæd-agogus*, *pædo-baptist*; and *pedant*, which meant originally, a schoolmaster, i. e. one who has the care of boys: 'A *pedant* that keeps a school i' the church,' Shaksp. For παῖς the Æolians said ποῖς and ποῖρ (as 'arbos,' 'arbor' are interchanged) and ποῖρ wh. *puer*.

Πρίξω, ξω: I prick, point, goad; mark with pricks or points, as the face or arms, brand, affix a stigma; mark, distinguish.—Fr. pp. ἑστιγμαῖς is *stigma*, *stigmatize*. Fr. a. 2. ἑστιγον is *in-stigo*; and *dis-tinguo* (for *dis-tingo* and this for *dis-tigo*, as 'pango' for 'pago,') I *distinguish*. From pp. ἑστιγμαῖς is *stimulus*, for euphony *stimulus*.

Στεῖχω: I go in an order or series; I go right on, march, proceed.—Fr. a. 2. ἑστιχον is *stichos*, a series of verses, wh. *acro-stic*. Hence also *di-stich*, (for *dis-stich*) *hemi-stich*. Hence Mor. derives *etiquette* (for *estiquette*, as 'estate' fr. 'status'), order, ceremony. Comp. *ticket*.

Sometimes the first and second methods are united, and produce a very interesting series of connected words:

Στίβη, στίβι, στίμμι, στίμμις: antimony.—Fac. derives it fr. στέλω, (i. e. fr. a. 2. ἑστιβον and pp. ἑστιμμαῖς) I bind close: for it has that power. An old English poet has used the term: 'Cerule nor *stibium* can prevail, No art repair where age makes fail.'

ΣΤΥΦΩ, ψω: I make stiff, close, or thick.—Fr. pp. ἑστυπται is *styptic*. Στύφω is fr. στύω=στέω, στῶ, I make to stand firm, I stiffen, make rigid. Comp. *stiff* and to *stuff*.

ὤμος: the shoulder.—Fr. ὤμαι pp. of ὤω=οῖω, I bear. Isocrates has φέρων ἐπὶ τὸν ὤμον; and Aristotle, βαστάζων ἐπὶ τῶν ὤμων. Hence *omo-plate*, the shoulder-blade. Hence Æol. ὤμορ, wh. Lat. *humer*, *humerus*.

The mode of deriving *Novem* from 'Ενέα is curious: 'First, ἐνέαA. *eneEM*, as δέκαA, *decEM*. Then, *enEem*, *enOFem*, as νέος, *nOVus*. Then *enovem*, *novem*, as ἐνεργε, νέρθε; ἔριξα, *rixa*.' *Tenebræ* is thus traced from δνόφος:

Δνόφος: hence δνοφερὸς, dark; pl. fem. δνοφερὰ, by transpos. δνοφρὰ, *denophra*, *denobra*, (as ἄμφω, ἀμβο) *denebræ*, *tenebræ* (as Ταῖδα from Δαῖδος).

On the word πῦρ Mr. Valpy remarks: 'To πῦρ many refer πυραμῖς, ἴδος, a *pyramid*, from its resemblance to the ascent of fire;' and adds the following note:

But Jablonski judiciously asks: 'Who can believe that the Egyptians would give a Greek name to works which were peculiar to themselves, and which were the most decisive indications of their glory?' In regard however to such words as σείστρον, which Jablonski refers to the Coptic, but which are plainly Greek, an observation made by himself will show that he may be deceived: 'We are authorised in concluding that those names are called Egyptian which were in reality Greek, as the Greeks took the thing intended by them from the Egyptians, and expressed it in such Greek words as answered to the Egyptian.'

We observe a curious remark on the etymology of the French language: 'Rire is for *Ridre* from *Ridere*; *Plaire* from *Placere*; *Dire* from *Dicere*; and in fact the French language seems greatly

to consist in this method of abolishing the middle part of a Latin word.'

On the third method we have nothing more to say, than that the passages from Greek writers seem in general well chosen; and that they are made very intelligible, by translations either in the text or in the notes.

The author seems to have taken great pains in pointing out a connexion between the various meanings of the Greek prepositions. He has also paid much attention to the various meanings of other words, as *τελέω*, *τέλος*, *ὑπάρχω*, *στέλλω*, *ὑλη*, *χράω*, *χράομαι*. He has dwelt a good deal on some of the most difficult prepositions in composition. We desire the reader's attention, particularly, to the words compounded with *ὑπὸ* and *ὑπέρ*. And he has explained some idiomatical expressions connected with *πάσχω*, *τυγχάνω*, *λύω*, *φθάνω*, &c. The last quotation we shall make is that from a note where the writer combats the notion of Hermann that the primary meaning of *φθάνω* is, to cease or leave off.

There are so many passages which seem to militate against this primary sense supposed by Hm., that it seems dangerous to admit it. He proposes this passage as confirmatory of his opinion: *Εἰ γὰρ ἀρσένων φόνος ἔσται γυναιξὶν δόσιος, οὐ φθάνοι' ἔτ' ἂν Θηήσκοντες*, Eurip. 'Non cessabunt cades.' But it is rather, 'You shall not any more *leave off* dying. He translates *φθάσας ἐποίησε*, 'he *left off* to do it, when another was doing or was going to do it:' But how forced is this ellipsis! The meaning is: He did it having *forestalled* every one else, He did it before every one else. This passage from Plato is more difficult: 'But, said he, I give you leave and command you to speak the truth. *Οὐκ ἂν φθάνοιμι*, replied Alcibiades.' Hm. translates it: 'Non *omitam* id facere.' The meaning is either interrogatively thus, 'Shall I not do so quickly?' as in the passage in the Text: or thus, 'I will not *anticipate* it (by doing any thing), i. e. I will not do any thing before I do that or sooner than I do that.

We now close our remarks on this publication. We have received much gratification in perusing it; and we heartily recommend it to our readers. Yet we dare not promise the writer unqualified success. We have stated the reason why we think that the use of this work will be confined, and can but express our regret that such an unworthy cause should check the circulation of a work, well adapted to simplify and to recommend the learning of the Greek language. One advantage attending this publication we will conclude with mentioning, and leave it, as being our last observation, fresh on the reader's mind:—that this work of less than 400 pages contains the basis of the Greek language; that it contains within itself the means of impressing that language on the memory by the derivations which it adduces, and by the passages from classical writers which it quotes and translates; that it may be taken up in a leisure hour, or even in an idle hour, and in an idle posture; and that whoever shall have become well acquainted with its contents, will have thenceforward little more than the intricacies of construction and the changes of dialects to combat and to



conquer, as he peruses the pages of those writers of ancient Greece who are usually read and admired.

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## CAMBRIDGE TRIPOSES, FOR 1826.

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*Sirenum voces.* HOR.

IMPROBE, siste ratem, quis te furor urget eundi?  
 Improbe, vesanum siste parumper iter.  
 Quid petis invitos contra dare lintea ventos,  
 Et tibi non dextrum sollicitare fretum?  
 Quos habeant nescis scopuli, quos Scylla, labores,  
 Quam fremat infestis sæva Charybdis aquis.  
 Quid petis? anne Ithacæ steriles invisere fines?  
 Saxaque turbatis obruta pæne vadis.  
 Nonne magis gratos tribuunt hæc arva recessus,  
 Non juga sunt saxis hæc potiora tuis?  
 Te tua Penelope, neque jam tua forte, reducit?  
 Pulcrior hic illa plurima Nympha nitet.  
 Hic Venus alma Papho ludit Cyproque relictâ,  
 Nec faciles spernit Pieris ipsa choros.  
 Per latebras crebro resonat lyra concita pulsu  
 Et quales Echo gaudet habere soni.  
 Sponte sua hic violæ<sup>1</sup> myrtique et lilia circum,  
 Sponte sua cytisi, sponte roseta vigent.  
 Nec fontes gelidi nec desunt qualia Nercus  
 Se jactat mediis antra tenere vadis;  
 Mille licet geminas, argenti pondera, conchas  
 Mille coruscantes Iridis instar habent.  
 Et nobis Cyani, nobis sunt mille lapilli,  
 Et decorat nostras plurima gemma domos.  
 Carmina nos etiam sera sub vesperis hora  
 Ducimus, et faciles turba beata choros.  
 Quid tibi cum sceptris? quid præsumt regna tenenti?  
 Divitias rodit pallida cura comes.  
 Quidve jûvabit adhuc dextra sævire cruenta?  
 Succubuit Graio Troja superba jugo.  
 Vanus honor, miser, est, sine lucro flebile bellum:  
 Sollicitos præbent fama decusque dies.

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<sup>1</sup> ——— Σιρῆνες λεγούνη φθέρουσι τὴν αἰσίδα  
 ἤμιν. ἐν λευκάσιν. OD. xii. 45.

Ebria Dulichias bacchetur turba per aulas;  
 Præda cadant avidis sponsa domusque procis.  
 Nulla tibi hic tandem venienti tela resistant:  
 Nulla tibi hic vitæ cura superstes erit.  
 Grata sub hoc antro labentur tempora noctis,  
 Lætæque erit semper, semper amœna, dies.  
 Quid juvat infernas Lemurum vidisse paludes,  
 Aut Phlegethontcos expetisse lacus?  
 Quid juvat horrendi vires latuisse Cyclopi,  
 Si patrios oneras triste cadaver agros?  
 Tutus abis Rhesi domitor Trojæque subactæ,  
 Sufficiant famæ clara tot acta tuæ.  
 Sæpe etenim lætos rapuit Fortuna triumphos,  
 Tristis amat versa Parca redire rota:  
 Tot superâta licet tibi sint discrimina belli,  
 Mille tamen, posthac exsuperanda, manent.  
 Sat famæ belloque datum est: nunc præmia famæ,  
 Partaque bellando munera, victor habe.  
 Quid labor, aut quid opus grave Martis, honorque juvabunt?  
 Plenus honor multis, Marsque, laborque, malis.  
 Contrahe, sospes adhuc, cursus, sic pace beata,  
 Sic poteris Musa, sic et Amore, frui.  
 At nec abesse putes quod tædia longa dierum  
 Auferat: invenies et quod inermis agas.  
 Aptius hic miles posito certamine Martis  
 Tractet Acidaliæ mollia tela Deæ.  
 Aptius imbelli citharæ fera classica cedant,  
 Luctisonam superet mollis avena tubam.  
 Musa duces cithara partosque æternat honores,  
 Musa etiam quales dat Cytharea modos;  
 Quantula, si Phœbum tollas, data gloria Marti est.  
 Quid, nisi laudetur carmine, miles erit?  
 Siste igitur celerem, dum te sinit aura, carinam;  
 Hei mihi quod votis illa sit apta tuis!  
 Quid loquor? anne minax saxis quod defluat humor  
 Et faveat velis aura secunda, queror?  
 Quid loquor?—I demens prouis per marmora remis,  
 I pete festina damna necemque fuga.  
 Mox fera surget hyems, late mox ingruet alto  
 Unda procellosis imperiosa minis.—  
 Mox præcæns Boreas aut acrior infremet Eurus:  
 Nunc etiâ n infaustæ dant tibi signa grues.  
 Scilicet et Syrtes et nigra Ceraunia nosces  
 Quæque secant medium plurima saxa fretum.

Certus es ire tamen nostrasque relinquere sedes—  
 I, pete vesanas mox periturus aquas.  
 Tandem etenim nosces mediis submersus in undis  
 Improbe Sirenum quid gravis ira ferat.

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*Par fuit his atas et amor.*

INCOLA deserti gressus refer, atque precanti  
 Dux mihi noctivagæ sis, bone amice, viæ;  
 Dirige qua lampas solatia luce benigna.  
 Præbet, et hospitii munera grata sui.  
 Solus enim tristisque puer deserta peragro  
 Ægre membra trahens deficiente pede;  
 Qua spatiis circum immensis porrecta patescunt  
 Me visa augeri progrediente loca.  
 "Uterius ne perge," senex, "jam mitte vagari,  
 Teque iterum noctis credere, amice, dolis.  
 Luce trahit species certa in discrimina fati,  
 Ah nimium nescis quo malefida trahat.  
 Hic inopi domus, hic requies datur usque vaganti,  
 Parvaque quantumvis dona libente manu.  
 Ergo siste pedes, caliginis imminet hora,  
 Sume libens quicquid parvula cella tenet.  
 Hic modicum penus et junci de vimine lectum,  
 Hic faustæque preces, hic et amanda quies.  
 Non pecudes nostro metuunt de vulnere lethum,  
 Securam carpunt pascua ad alma viam;  
 Accipiens in me curam mentemque benignam  
 Ipsam illis docuit suppeditare Deus.  
 Grainineo assuetus semper de vertice montis  
 Carpere jucundas inuocuasque dapes;  
 Pera frequens herbis, sylvestris copia frugum;  
 Haustusque e vivo fonte ministrat aqua.  
 Flecte gradum sodes, curas hic mittere inanes  
 Ne pigeat, tibi fert irrita cura malum.  
 Parva humanarum nobis penuria rerum,  
 Poscimus in terris pauca, nec illa diu."  
 Ros velut e cœlo circum pia verba sonabant,  
 Audit et ad cellam dirigit hospes iter.  
 Devia per latebras sylvestres semita duxit,  
 Abdita sub dumis qua casa sola fuit:  
 Gasper, at hic semper cepit solamina luctus,  
 Perfugium hic noctis dum silet hora vagans.  
 Divitias sedenim nullas sub tegmine culmus,  
 Quis dominus metuens invigilaret, habet.

Panditur ostiolum valido minus obijce clausum,  
 Accipit et parvum sub penetrale viros.  
 Jamque sibi sumit placidæ cum dona quietis  
 Vespere sub sero fessa labore manus,  
 Advena solamen quod sumeret anxius hospes  
 Largius assueto ponere ligna foco;  
 Herbosasque dapes humili dispergere mensa,  
 Fabella noctis tædia longa levans.  
 Hic felis circum ludit de more jocosus,  
 Dumque loco grillus, ligna sonora crepant.  
 Hospitis at luctum ne quid cohibere valeret,  
 Corde sedet dolor, et rore madere genæ.  
 Aspicit ipse senex curarum surgere fluctus,  
 Dixit et "unde tibi causa doloris adest?  
 Invitusne erras melioribus actus ab aulis,  
 Tædia amicitia, tædia amoris habens?  
 Heu! fortuna, puer, levia affert gaudia secum,  
 Ille tamen levior qui levia ista petit.  
 Nam quid amicitia est? vanumque et inutile nomen—  
 Datque soporato gaudia parva malo.  
 Larva sequens, cum sint felicia tempora, dices,  
 Tempora sin fuerint nubila, larva fugit.  
 Sed levius vel nomen amor—res dissita terris,  
 Abdita ni gremio, fida columba, tuo.  
 Siste graves luctus; mutabile scœmina," dixit,  
 "Sperne genus"—prodit plurimus ore rubor.  
 Miratur Veneres alias se pandere cerneus,  
 Per matutinum cœu color ire polum.  
 Territat ipse pudor, pectus tumidumque vicissim,  
 Explicat illecebras fassa puella suas.  
 "Parce peregrinæ, miseræ," inquit, "parce puellæ,  
 Quæ male virtutis tecta tuique subit.  
 Ah! miserere mei cui non nisi crimen amoris,  
 Cui quæsitæ quies, quam tamen usque fugit.  
 Vixit dives opum genitor prope flumina Tyni,  
 Et mihi dives, enim spes ego sola fui.  
 Multa procum manus a patris abreptura lacertis  
 Sensit vel nimium finxit amoris onus.  
 Turba tulit largas dotes venalis in horas,  
 Edwinus hos inter, sed neque dictus amor.  
 Veste humili indutus non rem jactavit opimam,  
 Pulchra tamen virtus dignaque amore meo.  
 Germen adhuc turgen, cœli roresve sereni,  
 Non tantum quant in mens sua labe calcant.

Mobilis at decor est rorique et floribus ipsis,  
 Heu ! decor idem illi, mobilitasque mihi.  
 Importuna dolos etenim exercere solebam,  
 Quamquam amor ardebat, vulnere læta suo,  
 Dum tandem fastu turpi devictus abivit  
 Desertum quærens, spes ubi sola mori.  
 At dolor usque meus, luet et mea crimina lethum,  
 Emoriarque premens, quam moribundus, humum.  
 Sola ibi mœsta cadam fati cum venerit hora,  
 Utque ego mors illi, sic erit ille mihi.”  
 “Fata vetent,” inquit, pectusque amplexus anbelum,  
 Vertitur illa timens—Edvinus ipse tenet.  
 “Lumina flecte,” iterat, “coram, carissima, amator  
 In gremium Veneris redditus inque tuum.  
 Sic curæ oblitus te solam semper amabo,  
 Te neque divellet vis inimica mihi.  
 Sic coeamus,” ait, “benefido in fœdere, pectus  
 Quique tuum genitus rumpit, et ipse meum

## CAMBRIDGE CLASSICAL EXAMINATION PAPERS, FOR 1826.

FIRST MORNING.

### ADDISON.

*To be translated into Latin Prose.*

SAPPHO the Lesbian, in love with Phaon, arrived at the temple of Apollo, habited like a bride in garments as white as snow.—*down to*—but that she was changed into a swan as she fell, and that they saw her hovering in the air under that shape.

### THEOCRITUS, IDYLL. XVI.

*To be translated into English Prose.*

QUERITUR POETA QUOD MUSÆ NEGLECTÆ JACEANT, NULLIS  
PRÆMIIS ORNATÆ.

Τίς γὰρ τῶν ὀπίσσοι γλαυκὰν ναίουσιν ὑπ' αὔῃ, — *to—*  
 ἀχὴν ἐκ πατέρων κενίαν ἀκτῆμονα κλαίων.

FIRST EVENING.

CICERO. BRUTUS.

*To be translated into English Prose.*

Sed de M. Calidio—down to—si opus erat, desuit.

TACITUS. HIST. 1. 38.

*To be translated into English Prose.*

Aperire deinde armamentarium—down to—non interfuit occidentium, quid diceret.

SECOND MORNING.

PLATONIS PHÆDRUS, p. 258.

*Translate the following passage into English.*

ΦΑΙ. Τίνος μὲν οὖν ἔνεκα καὶ τις ὡς εἰπεῖν ζῶη, ἀλλ' ἢ τῶν τοιούτων ἡδονῶν ἔνεκα;—down to—πολλῶν δὲ οὐνεκεν λεκτέον τι καὶ οὐ καθευδητέον, ἐν τῇ μεσημβρίᾳ.

QUESTIONS.

1. What is the topic of Plato's Phædrus? What others among his dialogues are on a kindred subject? How do they differ from it, either in the principle or the mode of treatment?

2. Could the foregoing fable have been introduced into any other of Plato's dialogues? What is the scene of the Phædrus? and what remarks are called forth by it, illustrating the character of Socrates?

3. What was the τέττιξ, and how many species of it were there? Translate Ὀμοίως ἐν τε τοῖς μικροῖς καὶ ἐν τοῖς μεγάλοις οἱ μὲν διγρημένοι εἰσι τὸ ὑπόζωμα, οἱ ἄδοντες· οἱ δ' ἀδιαίρετοι, οἱ οὐκ ἄδοντες. Καλοῦσι δὲ τοὺς μὲν μεγάλους καὶ ἄδοντας ἀχέτας, τοὺς δὲ μικροὺς τεττιγόνια. (Aristot. de Anim. V. 24.) Quote any passages from the Greek poets, showing the love the Greeks had for the song of the τέττιξ.

4. Explain the expressions ἀλλ' ἢ, ὀλίγου πασαι, the formation of μεσημβρία and ἀνήκοος, quoting similar forms; the formation and use of ἄττα. Under what forms are ἔνεκα and εἰάν used in the various dialects? Show why Socrates first says εἰ ἴδοιεν, and afterwards εἰάν ὁρῶσι. Explain the difference between αὐτοὺς, σφᾶς, and αὐτοῖς, the signification of τυγχάνω with or without a participle, and the use of λανθάνω with a participle, illustrating it by similar idioms.

5. Point out the manner in which Plato plays upon the names of the Muses he mentions. Continue the sentence, carrying it on through the rest of the sisterhood

THE FRIEND, Vol. III. p. 39.

*Translate the following passage into Attic Greek of the age of Plato.*

Youth has its own wealth and independence;—*down to*—or the circumstances have not been in an uncommon degree unfavorable.

SECOND EVENING.

HOMERI ODYSSEY. E. 388—435.

*To be translated into English Prose.*

Ἐνθα δὺς νύκτας, δύο δ' ἡμέρας, κύματι πηγῶν—*down to*—  
οἶδα γὰρ, ὥς μοι ὀδῶδυσται κλυτὸς Ἐννοσίγαιος.

ÆSCHYL. CHOEER. 219—257.

*To be translated into English Prose.*

OP. Αὐτὸν μὲν οὖν ὀρώσα δυσμαθεῖς ἐμέ—*down to*—  
δόμον, δοκοῦντα κάρτα νῦν πεπτωκέναι.

THIRD MORNING.

EUNUCHI. Actus II. Scena 2.

*To be translated into Greek Iambic Trimeters.*

GNATHO. PARMENO.

GN. Dii immortales! homini homo quid præstat!—*down to*—

PAR. Scitum hercle hominem! hic homines prorsum ex stultis insanos facit.

THIRD EVENING.

ARISTOT. RHETOR. II. 12.

*Translate into English.*

Οἱ μὲν οὖν νέοι τὰ ἥθη εἰς ἐπιθυμητικοὶ, καὶ οἷοι ποιεῖν, ὧν ἂν ἐπιθυμήσωσι.—*down to*—Ἡ γὰρ εὐτραπεία πεπαιδευμένη ὕβρις ἐστὶ. Τὸ μὲν οὖν τῶν νέων τοιοῦτον ἥθος ἐστίν.

QUESTIONS.

1. What is the scheme of Aristotle's treatise on Rhetoric? and how does it lead him to introduce the foregoing character

of young men? What other work did he compose on the same subject? is it extant? Enumerate the various treatises of Cicero on similar topics, and point out how far they resemble or differ from Aristotle's Rhetoric.

2. Quote or refer to any passages in the Greek poets or historians illustrative of the characteristics here assigned to youth by Aristotle. Are there any similar features in Horace's portraiture?

3. Explain the logical connexion of the sentence *καὶ μᾶλλον αἰροῦνται—τοῦ καλοῦ*.

4. What were τὸ Πιττακοῦ, τὸ Χιλώνειον? Of what cities were these men natives? and what is recorded of each?

5. What is the force of adjectives in *ικός*? Distinguish between *θυμικός*, *ὀξύθυμος*, and *θυμώδης*. What is the usage with regard to the augment in verbs beginning with *οι*, such as *οἰσώ*; what in compound verbs? Exemplify it in the aorists of *ἀποτυγχάνω* and *ἀγανακτέω*. Are there any remarkable anomalies? What is the etymology and primitive meaning of *ἀγανακτέω*, *ἀψίκυρος*, *εὐτραπέλος*? Translate and explain *μὴ δολωθῆς εὐτραπέλοις κέρδεσσι* (Pind. Pyth. i. 178.); *οὐ στωμύλλων κατὰ τὴν ἀγορὰν τριβολεκτραπέλα* (Aristoph. Nub. 1003.); *Αἰσχροῦτος δὲ μηδὲ ὀνομαζέσθω ἐν ὑμῖν, καὶ μαρολογία, ἢ εὐτραπελία, τὰ οὐκ ἀνήκοντα*. (D. Paul. Ephes. v. 4.) Is the meaning of *εὐτραπέλος* in these passages the same as in Aristotle? if not, mention any other words of which the acceptation is similarly ambiguous. In what cases do two negatives strengthen, in what destroy, each other? State the principle that prevails with regard to the accent of compound words, and illustrate it by instances from the foregoing passage.

HEROD. vi. 128-9.

*Translate into English.*

*Ἀπικομένων δὲ τῶν μνηστήρων ἐς τὴν προειρημένην ἡμέρην,—down to—Ἀπὸ τούτου μὲν τοῦτο ὀνομάζεται.*

## QUESTIONS.

1. In what manner does Herodotus connect the marriage of Agarista with the chain of his narrative? Are any other anecdotes about that marriage recorded? Who among its offspring or descendants acted any, and what, conspicuous part in Grecian story?

2. Who were the Cypselidæ? that Hippoclidēs should be preferred on account of his descent from them.



## 186 Cambridge Examination Papers, for 1826.

3. What is the common distinction in the use of the imperfect and aorist indicative? Does Herodotus ever neglect this distinction? Are there any instances of such neglect in the foregoing passage? What is the Homeric practice in this respect? By what general principle of language are these anomalies to be explained?

4. What is the difference between Attic and Ionic Greek in the use of the aspirate? What is the Homeric practice? Do you know of any similar phenomena in other languages?

5. Enumerate, deduce, and exemplify, the various meanings of κατέχειν, κρίνειν, ὀργή. What is the Homeric substitute for the last? Explain ὑποπτύω, συνεστή, ἐμμέλεια. Translate τὰς ὀρχήσεις τὰς τῶν εὖ πραττόντων, ὄντων ὑπὲρ μετρίων αὐτῶν πρὸς τὰς ἡδονὰς, ὀρθῶς ἅμα καὶ μουσικῶς ὠνόμασεν, ὅστις ποτ' ἦν, καὶ κατὰ λόγον αὐταῖς θέμεναι ὄνομα ξυμπάσαις, ἐμμελείας ἐπωνίμασε, καὶ δύο δὴ τῶν ὀρχήσεων τῶν καλῶν εἶδη κατεστήσατο, τὸ μὲν πολεμικὸν πυρρίχην, τὸ δὲ εἰρηνικὸν ἐμμέλειαν. (Plato Leg. vii. 18. p. 816.) To what kinds of poetry were the ἐμμελεία, the σίκινις, and the κόρδαξ, appropriated?

6. Translate the passage between ὡς δὲ ἀπὸ δείπνου ἐγένετο and ἐσενεῖκαι into Attic Greek.

7. Δοκεῖ μοι Ἡρόδοτος εἰπεῖν ἄν, ἐξορχούμενος τὴν ἀλήθειαν, οὐ φρόντις Ἡροδότῃ. Whose words are these? and on what are they founded?

### FOURTH MORNING.

MILTON. PARADISE LOST. vii. 313.

*To be translated into Latin Verse.*

He scarce had said, when the bare earth, till then—down to—  
—So even and morn recorded the third day.

### FOURTH EVENING.

HORAT. Lib. ii. Epist. ii.

*To be translated into English Prose.*

At qui legitimum cupiet fecisse poema,—down to—  
Aut etiam supra, nummorum nullibus emtum.

### QUESTIONS.

1. What is the derivation of the word Vesta? By whom was a temple first built to this goddess in Rome? What objects of peculiar interest and veneration did it contain?

2. Illustrate as many of the expressions, as you can, between

lines 109 and 126, by quotations from other parts of Horace's works.

3. "Nunc Satyrum nunc agrestem Cyclopa movetur." Give the exact construction of this line. In some editions the word Satyrum is spelled *Satirum*: why cannot this be allowed?

4. "Et demtus per vim mentis gratissimus error." The reading of *pretium* for *per vim* has been lately adopted and received into the text. How would you then translate the line, and what is your opinion of the alteration?

5. Give the derivation of the words 'delirus,' 'lagena,' 'lympha,' 'mancipo,' 'Cyclops,' 'vetustas,' 'tragædus.'

6. — quod quis libra mercatus et are est. — trecentis  
nummorum millibus emptum.

**To what different states of the metallic currency at Rome do the preceding sentences refer? What is the exact sum denoted by the latter, in English money?**

LUCRET. Lib. II.

*To be translated into English Prose.*

Præterea, genus humanum, mutæque natantes—down to—  
Usque adeo quiddam proprium, notumque requirit.

### PASSAGE IN TACITUS.

A QUESTION having lately been raised as to the genuineness of the celebrated passage relating to Jesus Christ in the fifteenth book of the *Annals* of Tacitus, perhaps the following information may be interesting to some of your readers respecting his manuscripts. It was with a particular view to the genuineness of that passage that, when last in Italy, I sought for them. I do not pretend to skill in manuscripts; but, after a very careful examination, I discovered nothing on the face of them to excite suspicion. I found only one manuscript in the Vatican, and that I think undoubtedly a modern copy. But in the Laurentian library at Florence, I found several copies more ancient. The following is a description of them given me by the Librarian Signor Del Fuca.

**G. HIGGINS.**

— Libri quinque Historiæ ab excessu Divi Augusti exemplar antiquissimum, in Germania inventum, ac Leoni x. Pont. Max. oblatum. Codex sæc. x.

— Fragmentum Annalium ab excessu Divi Augusti, a libro x. usque ad totum librum xvi. Codex sæc. xv.

— Aliud exemplar continens historias, ab excessu Divi Augusti, a libro xi. usque ad totum xxi. Codex sæc. xv.

— Aliud exemplar continens historias, ab excessu Divi Augusti, a libro xi. usque ad totum xxi. ut supra. Codex per vetustus sæc. xi. literis Longobardicis exaratus.

— Aliud exemplar historiarum ab excessu Divi Augusti, a libro xi. usque ad librum xvi. inclusive. Codex sæc. xv.

— Ejusdem de Origine ac Situ Germaniæ liber. Codex sæc. xv.

## LITERARY INTELLIGENCE.

LATELY PUBLISHED.

*The Delphin and Vartorum Classics*, Nos. LXXXV. to LXXXVIII., containing *Suetonius* and *Plinius* (Senior). Pr. 1*l.* 1*s.* per No.—Large paper, double. Present Subscription, 983.

As it may not be convenient to new Subscribers to purchase at once all the Nos. now published, Mr. V. will accommodate such by delivering one or two back Nos. with each new No. till the set is completed. —STEPHENS' GREEK THESAURUS may be subscribed for on the same terms.

*Stephens' Greek Thesaurus*, No. XXXVIII. The work is *certainly* comprised in 39 Nos. The copies of some deceased Subscribers may still be had at 1*l.* 5*s.* Small, and 2*l.* 12*s.* 6*d.* Large Paper; but the Prices will soon be raised to 1*l.* 7*s.* Small, and 2*l.* 15*s.* Large. Subscribers always remain at the price at which they originally enter. Nos. I. to XXXVIII. contain above 15,000 words omitted by STEPHENS. Total Subscribers, Large and Small paper, 1086. The copies printed are strictly limited to the number of Subscribers.

Purchasers of Copies that are not complete are requested to take up the deficient Nos. before the publication of the Index, or 27*s.* will be charged for each No. in suspense: Large paper, double.

*Horæ Sabbaticæ*; or, an attempt to correct certain superstitious and vulgar errors respecting the Sabbath. By Godfrey Higgins, Esq. of Skellow Grange, near Doncaster.

Mr. Mitchell, the Translator of the Grammatical Parallel of the Classic and Modern Greek Languages, reviewed in our Journal, volume thirty-one, is occupied on a Work, which might be truly valuable, if Greece should consummate her independence; entitled '*the Hellenist and Traveller's Lexicon*;' to combine the Languages of Ancient and Modern Greece. It is not his intention by this, to confound the Languages: they will be held distinct. Words and phrases purely Hellenic will have no distinguishing mark—those common to both Languages will have a double cross—and those purely modern a single one. Moreover, those corrupted or modern, will be traced to their primitive signs. If of Hellenic origin, the mutations by which the modern terms have been attained will be shown; if derived from modern Languages, they will be referred to their primitives respectively in those Languages. Mr. Mitchell has, moreover, ready for the press, a Translation of Darvan's Grammar of the Modern Greek, of 440 pages; referring, under every rule, to the classic Language; comparing the Grammar progressively, containing an Alphabetic List of the Corrupted Words, and Idiomatic Expressions of the Modern Tongue. This Work will be most valuable to such as wish to be thoroughly initiated into the existing Language of Greece.

A Vocabulary, on the plan of one highly celebrated of the English and French Languages; of the French, Italian, Modern Greek, and Russian.

A Vocabulary on the same plan, English, Latin, Ancient and Modern Greek.

A Collection of Dialogues or Conversations in English, Italian, French, and Modern Greek.

A Collection of Commercial Letters, in the same Languages. The Flowers of Virtue, in English, French, Italian, and Greek. Two highly sentimental and humorous pieces, in Modern Greek and English, page for page, originally from the German of Kotzebue: rendered into Greek by a Native; and into English by the above Translator. The free and easy language of Comedy is perhaps the most appropriate for eliciting the peculiar characteristics of a language.

The Lyric Pieces of Chrystopoulo, styled the Modern Anacreon; his Language paraphrased, as far as possible, in English metre, abiding by the sense of the original.

The whole of the above are intended to be published by sub-

scription, and he will bestow his earliest attention to such as appear to be most likely to meet with encouragement.

Of the Lexicon he has completed twelve pages as a specimen, which may be seen at Messrs. Black and Young, as well as the critiques, that have appeared in the several reviews on the Grammatical Parallel.

The learned Michael Pauggini, one of the most illustrious biblioplists of Europe, has discovered several lost fragments of the Latin historian and poet, Florus, in a convent which had long been deserted.

A Key to the Book of Psalms. By the Rev. T. Boys. 8vo.

Notes on the Gospel of St. Luke, for the use of Students in the Universities. By the Rev. J. R. Major, B.A. of Trin. Coll. Cambridge.

Select Orations of Cicero, with English Notes, and a Vocabulary of the Roman Magistrates and Laws, &c. &c. For the use of Students. By Richard Garde, A.B., of the Middle Temple. 1 vol. 18mo. 4s. boards.

*The Book of Churches and Sects*; or the Opinions of all denominations of Christians, differing from the Church of England, traced to their source by an Exposition of the various Translations and Interpretations of the Sacred Writings: to which is added a brief Refutation of Unitarianism, and an arrangement of Texts in support of the Tenets of the Church of England. By the Rev. T. C. Boone. 8vo. 1826.

*Deism Refuted*; or Plain Reasons for being a Christian. By T. H. Horne, M.A. Seventh Edition, corrected and enlarged. 12mo. 1826.

*Memoirs of Moses Mendelsohn*, the Jewish Philosopher; including the celebrated Correspondence on the Christian Religion, with J. C. Lavater, Minister of Zurich. By M. Samuels. 8vo. 1825.

Epigrammata e Purioribus Græce Anthologiæ Fontibus hausit; Annotationibus Jacobsii, De Bosch, et aliorum instruxit; suas subinde Notulas et Tabulam Scriptorum Chronologicam adjunxit J. Edwards, A.M. 8vo. 1825.

Essay on the Manner of Teaching Languages; or, an Analytical, Comparative, and Demonstrative Mode of Tuition pro-

posed; in which Ocular and Mechanical Demonstration is introduced, in order to assist the memory, facilitate the understanding of the Rules, improve the mind of the Student, and produce a speedy and permanent knowledge of Languages. By C. Le Vert, Teacher of Languages. 8vo. pp. 49. 1826. London.

*Hermes Philologus*; or an Inquiry into the causes of difference between the Greek and Latin Syntax; containing a Dissertation on the Origin of these Languages. By Francis Adams, A.M. Surgeon.

*P. Virgilii Bucolica*; containing an Ordo and Interlineal Translation accompanying the Text; a Treatise on Latin Versification; and references to a scanning table, exhibiting, on musical principles, every variety of Hexameter Verse. With an Explanatory Index; intended as an introduction to the reading of the Latin Poets. By Dr. P. A. Nuttall, Editor of Stirling's Juvenal interlineally translated. 12mo. 1826.

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## FOREIGN LITERARY INTELLIGENCE.

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*Contents of the Journal des Savans for October, 1825.*

1. *Histoire de René d'Anjou, Roi de Naples, Duc de Lorraine, et Comte de Provence.* By M. le Vicomte F. de Villeneuve-Bargemon. [M. Raynouard.]

2. *Forschungen im Gebiete der Älteren, religiösen, politischen und litterarischen Bildungsgeschichte der völker Mittel-Asiens, vorzüglich der Mongolen und Tibeter; von Isaac Jacob Schmidt.* Researches respecting the ancient history of the culture of the people of central Asia, particularly that of the Mongols and Tibetans, under the triple point of view, religion, politics, literature. By I. J. Schmidt. St. Petersburg, 1824.

*Beleuchtung und Widerlegung, der Forschungen über die Geschichte der Mittel-Asiatischen völker des Herrn I. J. Schmidt in St. Petersburg; von J. Klaproth.* Examination and refutation of the Researches of M. I. J. Schmidt of St. Petersburg, respecting the people of central Asia. By J. Klaproth. Paris, 1824. [The Baron Silvestre de Sacy.]

3. *Elémens de la Grammaire Japonaise.* By Father Rodriguez, translated from the Portuguese, from or out of the MSS. in the

King's library at Paris, and carefully collated with the grammar published by the same author at Nagasaki, in 1604, by M. C. Landresse, member of the Asiatic Society of Paris, preceded by an explanation of the formation of Japanese syllables, a work published by the Asiatic Society of Paris. [Abel Rémusat.]

4. *Traité élémentaire de Minéralogie.* By T. S. Beudant, sub-director of the Royal Cabinet of mineralogy, professor of mineralogy at the Faculty of Sciences of the Royal Academy of Paris, &c. [Chevreul.]

5. *Das Erbrecht in weltgeschichtlicher Entwicklung eine Abhandlung der Universitätsrechtsgeschichte, &c.*; that is to say, a General History of the Right of Inheritance; a treatise which forms a part of an Universal History of Jurisprudence. [Hase.]

*For November.*

1. *An Account of Experiments made to determine the figure of the Earth, by the vibrations of the pendulum of seconds, in various latitudes*; to which is added, *Researches on divers other scientific objects*, by Edward Sabine, Captain of Artillery, member of the Royal Society of London, &c. Published by the Board of Longitude of Great Britain. [M. Biot.]

2. *Restitution des deux frontons du temple de Minerve à Athènes.* Restitution of the two pediments of the temple of Minerva at Athens; or a dissertation, to serve as an explanation of the subjects which sculpture had there represented, as well as the refutation of the opinion of ancient travellers and some modern critics, respecting the subject of the occidental pediment, and on the anterior face of the temple, with 3 plates. [Letronne.]

3. *Histoire de la législation.* By the Marquis de Pastoret, vice-president of the Chamber of Peers, and member of the Institute, of French Academy, and Academy of Inscriptions, &c. &c. 5th, 6th, and 7th vols.

4. *Article No. 2. of the preceding month* continued. 2d article. [The Baron de Sacy.]

5. *Tableau des Mœurs Françaises aux tems de la Chevalerie*; a Representation of the Manners of the French during the age of Chivalry; extracted from the romance of Sir Ralph, and of the beautiful Ermeline; done into modern French, and accompanied with notes on the general and particular wars, on the relation of the great vassals with the king, &c. By L. C. P. V. Paris, 4 vols. 8vo. [M. Daulou.]

6. *Transactions of the Royal Asiatic Society of Great Britain and Ireland.* (2d article.) [M. Abel Rémusat.]

For December.

1. *Histoire des Français, par M. I. C. L. Simonde de Sismondi*, tomes 7, 8, et 9. Paris. [Daunou.]

2. *Article No. 4. of the preceding month* continued and concluded. [S. de Sacy.]

3. *PLATONIS PHILEBUS*—Recensuit, prolegomenis et commentariis illustravit GODOFREDUS STALBAUM; accesserunt Olympiodori scholia in Philebum, nunc primum edita. *Lipsiæ.* (2d article.) [V. Cousin.]

4. *Discours sur les Révolutions de la Surface du Globe, et sur les changemens qu'elles ont produits dans le Règne Animal*; Discourse on the Revolutions that have happened on the Surface of the Earth, and of the Changes produced by them in the Animal Kingdom; par M. le Baron G. Cuvier, commandeur de la légion d'honneur, &c. &c. 3me édition Française. Paris. [J. P. Abel Rémusat.]

5. *ICONOGRAPHIE ANCIENNE, ou Recueil des portraits authentiques des Empereurs, Rois, et Hommes Illustres de l'Antiquité.*—Ancient Iconography, being a Collection of authentic portraits of Emperors, Kings, and Illustrious Men of Antiquity. *Iconographie Romaine*, tome 2. par le Chevalier Mongez, membre de l'Institut Royal de France, avec cette epigraphe: "*Magnorum virorum imagines incitamenta animi.*" (2d article.) [M. Letronne.]

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#### SELECTION OF NEW PUBLICATIONS.

*Notes sur la Mythologie*, or historical interpretations, extracted from the fable of the Greeks during the heroic ages, by Le Riche. Paris, 1825, 12mo. with a map.—These notes tend to prove that the ancient mythology is nothing but the emblematical history of the civilisation of the Greeks; that *Saturn* represents events in general; *Hercules*, things; *Titan*, the priests; *Jupiter*, the warriors; *Vulcan*, the laborers, &c. Finally, that the poetic history is but a series of abstractions personified.

*Osservazioni sul Basso-rilievo Fenico-Egizio, che si conserva in Carpentrasso*, Observations on the *Phœnician-Egyptian Basso-rilievo*, preserved at Carpentras. By Michael Angelo Lanci, Interpreter of Oriental Languages at the Library of the Vatican, in 4to. Rome, 1825.



*Chrestomathia Syriaca*, sive S. Ephræmi Carmina selecta, cum notis criticis, philologicis, historicis, et glossario locupletissimo; auct. Aug. Hahn et Fr. Seiffert. Lipsiæ, 1825, apud Vogel, in 8vo.

*De Metris carminum Arabicorum, libri duo, cum appendice emendationum in varios poetas.* Aut. Geo. Henr. Ang. Ewold. Brunsvigæ, 1825, 8vo.

*Dictionnaire Géographique Universel.* 8 vols. 8vo. The first two vols. of this work are just published, price 7 francs each.

*Histoire de la Législation*, par M. le Marquis de Pastoret, vice-president of the Chamber of Peers, &c. &c. 5th, 6th, and 7th vols.—The first four vols. of this work contain the history of the legislation of the Assyrians, Babylonians, Egyptians, Syrians, and Jews. In the three vols. now published, the author treats of the legislation of the Cretans, the Lacedæmonians, and the Athenians:—what is said in this work respecting the criminal passions of the Cretans is similar to what is practised at this day in Muhammedan countries, particularly in Mauritania and at Algiers.

*Manière tout-à-fait nouvelle d'enseigner et d'étudier la Langue Latine.* An entire new plan of learning the Latin language; or an exposition of a preparatory method of teaching that language, practised with success during 20 years, by M. Chompré, formerly schoolmaster and professor. Paris, 8vo. Pr. 1 fr.

On a Punic Inscription recently discovered in digging among the ruins of Carthage, by Dr. Fred. Munter.

This inscription, sent to Dr. Munter by the Danish consul-general at Tunis, is the sixth that has been discovered of late among the ruins of Carthage; the first five have been found by the Dutch Major Humbert, and published in Holland. The sixth, of which Dr. Munter gives the *fac-simile*, is only ten inches in length: the letters of this inscription are very clear and regular, and very much resemble the characters of the legends on the coins published by Pellerin and Perez Bayer. Dr. Munter translates them thus: *Sepulcrum Bathbæ filiæ Chamlothi, filii Abdeschmun, filii Eschman-Jitten, filii Barjahreb.* As the stone was discovered on the site of the village of Malga, in the environs of the ruins of the temple of *Astarté*, it is possible that Bathba, whose tomb it designates, might have been priestess of this temple, though the inscription does not contain the word priestess; it is therefore remarkable only for the Carthaginian proper names which it men-

*Tomb discovered at Valogne.* An inhabitant of Valogne directing the laborers at the bottom of his garden to make a well, they

perceived a long stone, which appeared to be fashioned: it was a sarcophagus which they could not extract entire, without much difficulty, it had suffered so much from the effects of humidity. When opened, a great part of the skeleton which it contained fell into dissolution. A piece of silver of the size of a French sou, placed in the mouth of the corpse, according to the custom of the Pagans, gave reason to think that these human remains were those of a Roman warrior, a companion of Cæsar, at the conquest of Gaul; for, on one side of the medal were the words, *Cæs. Imp.*, and on the other, *vix. Gal.* At the foot of the skeleton was found a case of silver, twelve inches long by eight broad. It contained 150 medals, of which 40 were of brass, similar to French copper pieces of two sous; 95 in silver, similar to the French two franc pieces; and 15 in gold, similar to their five franc pieces, and representing the effigies of Cæsar, Pompey, Mithridates, Cleopatra, Pharnaces, Nicomedes, Perpenna, Sertorius, Crassus, Spartacus, Sylla, Annibal, Asdrubal, Scipio Africanus, and Philip of Macedon. It is sixty years since Roman monuments were discovered at Valogne. These discoveries tend to confirm the opinion, that Valogne succeeded the ancient *CROCIA TONUM*, the capital of the people *Unelli*, near which *Cæsar* had a camp, and of which he speaks in his *Commentaries*.

On the position of the ancient town of Tanais. Extract of a letter addressed to M. de Blaramberg, by M. Sternpkofsky.—Saratof, 1st February, 1824.

The Greeks of Miletus, having once penetrated to the Black Sea, built a great number of commercial towns on the Cimmerian Bosphorus. After having consolidated their power in these countries, they took possession of the entrance of the *Tanaus*, now called the *Don*, where they founded another town, which they called *Tanaïs*, from the name of the river itself. The epocha of its foundation is unknown, but it is ascertained that it afterwards became one of the richest emporiums of the commerce of the Greeks with the surrounding barbarous nations. The Greeks who resorted hither through the Bosphorus, and by the *Palus Meotides*, brought wine, cloths, and various merchandise, for which the Nomadic Scythians gave them in exchange slaves, furs, skins, and salted fish, &c. According to Strabo, this town must have enjoyed in some measure a government independent of the kingdom of the Bosphorus. In the 11th book of his Geography, this writer positively says that the inhabitants of the Méotides generally depended, partly on the sovereigns of the town of Tanais, and partly on those of the Bosphorus. He thus expresses himself in another passage: "Many kings of the Bosphorus, and among them Pharnaces, Assander, and Polemon, who mounted the throne fourteen years before Jesus Christ, and laid waste (*ἐξέπύρηνον*) the town of Tanais,

whose inhabitants by their restless and seditious temper had irritated him." But it is very probable that Polemon did not altogether destroy it, as is generally supposed, according to Strabo, for in another place the same author speaks of Tanais as being the most considerable commercial place of that period, after Panticapeum.<sup>2</sup> Notwithstanding all which, Pliny mentions it as a town no longer existing in his days.<sup>3</sup> Here end the notions which have been transmitted to us respecting this town by the ancient writers. Latterly the Venetians possessed on the Don an emporium of commerce named *Tana*, and which they established in precisely the same situation where the ancient Greek town stood, from whence they carried on a very extensive commerce with India and Persia, by the Caspian Sea and Astrakhan.

During a rapid journey which I performed in October, 1823, along the banks of the *Don*, I was desirous of examining the entrance of this river, and discovering the true situation of the ancient town of Tanais, which has never yet been determined. It has been generally supposed that this Greek colony was settled on the left or Asiatic bank of the river, and not a great distance from the modern *Azof*; and that idea is probably taken from Pliny and Strabo, who both speak of Tanais in their description of Asia.

Ptolemy, who also speaks of Tanais in his description of Europe and Asia,<sup>4</sup> supposes it near the *Asiatic entrance*, not on the side of Asia, but between the two arms of the river, *μεταξὺ τῶν στροφῶν*, consequently on the island formed by these two arms, at the spot where the *Don* throws itself into the sea of *Azof*. Nevertheless it is extremely difficult to believe that the Greeks were ever established in marshy places, and subject to frequent inundations, when they could, if they would, choose in the neighborhood some elevated spot, much better adapted to defend themselves against the barbarous nations, and where it was possible to command all the environs. It is well known that all the ancient towns founded by the Greeks on the northern banks of the Black Sea were built on elevated spots. This is evident from the ruins which remain of these colonies.

The English traveller Clark sought in vain for traces of Greek towns on the left bank of the *Don*, which made him conclude

Strabo l. 7. and 11.

Mail-Rochette, *Ant. Grecq. du Bosphore Cimm.* § vii. p. 92.

Pliny, *Nat. Hist.* l. vi. c. 7.

Ptol. *Géogr.* l. iii. c. 5. et l. v. c. 9.

that the ancient Tanais might probably be found on the European bank of that river; <sup>1</sup> and indeed I believe that the remains of that town are to be found on the bank just mentioned, distant six versts from the sea, and near to the Cossack village *Nedvigofsky*. There, on the bank of the Don, much elevated, and very steep in that place, I found the vestiges of *Acropolis*, or a citadel resembling that of *Olvia*, though smaller: this fortification is surrounded by a deep moat, and in many places on the ramparts are seen heaps of stones, indicating the places where the towers were placed; every where about are found the ruins of antique vases, called *amphoras*, and which are generally found in all places where the Greeks have had colonies. Behind the rampart all the environs are covered to a great distance with cavities, heaps of earth, and cinders, (remains of former habitations,) as well as with a multitude of little hills, similar to those found in the environs of *Olvia* and *Panticapeum*. From the eminence, from whence is seen this fortress, the sight embraces an immense space on the side of the Steppes, as well as on the banks of the river, and near the sea, and even at the foot of the mountain, runs the *Donetz*, one of the navigable affluents of the *Don*, somewhat encumbered at present with sand, but which served not long ago to transport the barks of the Cossacks. It were impossible, after such signs and tokens, not to recognise in these ruins those of an ancient Greek town, and that town cannot be any other but *Tanais*.

At *Rostof*, a town belonging to the government of *Yekaterinoslaf*, which is situated in the neighborhood, I have been assured that there have recently been found *Greek coins of gold* in the midst of the ruins just described, as well as a little higher up on the same bank of the river. (Unfortunately I was unable to examine this last place.) According to what has been reported to me, these coins represented figures with the inscription *Βασιλέως Εὐπάτορος*, the same Eupator, king of the Bosphorus, contemporary with the Antonines: they have been sold by the natives at the market of *Rostof*.

By my request I have just had sent me from *Rostof* two other pieces of money, found also, as I have been assured, near the same ruins at *Nedvigofsky*. The first, of gold and silver alloy, represents on one side the head and the name of king Sauromatus the third, (*Βασιλέως Σαυρομάτου*) successor of Eupator; and, on the other side, the effigy of Commodus, with the iron or point of a pike before him, and the letters *HOY*, which signify 478 years from the era *du pont*, or 182 before Christ. This epoch will certainly

<sup>1</sup> Clark's Journey in Russia and Tartary, c. 11. and 14.

merit the attention of numismatics; for I think, that hitherto, the year 478 has never been recognised on the medals which we possess of Sauromatus the third; but is no assistance to history, since we possess coins of this prince, struck both before and after that period. The second medal, in copper, represents the figure and the name of the same Sauromatus; and on the reverse, a woman sitting, or according to the opinion of the learned archæologist Kohler, the goddess *Astarte*; and before her, in miniature, the head of the emperor Septimius Severus, crowned with laurels and the letter B.

If the two medals just described have actually been found in the ruins near Nedvigofky, it is clearly proved that Tanais was not totally destroyed by king Polemon, son of Zinon, or at least was restored and inhabited by the Greeks of the Bosphorus until the period of the Antonines, an epoch in which, as you suppose yourself, the barbarians destroyed a great number of towns on the northern shores of the Black Sea, as Olvia, Istros, and many others.<sup>2</sup> This conclusion may be of the greatest importance for history; and in comparing it with other discoveries, it will undoubtedly serve to elucidate facts hitherto environed with darkness.

Acta S. Apostoli Thomæ, a Thilo: in 8vo. Leipsic.—This work is divided into three parts. The first is a notice on these apocryphal Acts; the second contains the text; the third, notes useful for ecclesiastical history.

*Voyage Bibliographique, Archæologique, et Pittoresque, en France.* Bibliographic, Archæologic, and Picturesque Journey in France. By the Rev. Th. Frognall Dibdin, translated from the English, with notes, 1st and 2d vols., in 8vo. Paris, 1825.

The French translator of this work has corrected the errors of this erudite English traveller, which are numerous, particularly in that part which treats of Normandy. We will mention only one of these errors. In speaking of the Abbaie de St. Etienne, at Caen, the English traveller says: "According to *Huet*, the stone employed in the construction of this edifice was brought, partly from Vaucelle, and partly from *Germany*." Mr. Dibdin appears not to have known that there is a village near Caen denominated *Allemagne*; although, if he had attentively read *Huet*, he would have perceived that he himself says so; and it was from this

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Blaraberg, *Choix de Médailles Antiques d'Olbioris*, page 30.  
 Julii Capit. Maximinus et Balbinus, c. 16.—Tillemont, *Hist. des Emp. c. 3. p. 237.*

village that the stones were brought, and not from Germany. Various inaccuracies in dates and proper names are corrected in this translation.

IN THE PRESS.

*First Greek Exercises*, for Schools; duod.

*A Latin Exercise Book*, to connect the link between VALPY'S 'First Exercises,' and 'Elegantiae Latinæ.'

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TO CORRESPONDENTS.

We are obliged to our Exeter Correspondent for his corrections of a certain Hebrew Work, which we deemed it best to send to the Publisher to be inserted at the end of the work.

We are obliged to J. C. K.; but his verses have been too often published to suit our pages. Indeed, we only insert Prize Compositions.

If 'A Constant Reader' at Aberdeen will transcribe the passage he mentions from Scheller's Criticism, we shall be glad to insert it; but we have sought in vain for the Work itself.

In our next will appear *Emendationes Miscellæ*. — *Contributions of Greek Lexicography*. — *Notice of the Songs of Greece*. — *Cambridge Triposes*.

[ADVERTISEMENTS.]

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THE  
CLASSICAL JOURNAL;

N<sup>o</sup>. LXVI.

JUNE, 1826.

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CONTRIBUTIONS to GREEK LEXICOGRAPHY, or observations on the peculiar meaning of some words in that language.

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*Ἀίτωμα*, the triangular pediment of a temple, on which was generally sculptured in relief the figure of an eagle with expanded wings. (See Pindar, Ol. xiii. 30. and Heyne's note.)

*Αἵμακουρία*, funeral obsequies, *parentutio*, so named from the victims whose blood was shed in profusion at the tomb of the deceased.

Sulmone creatos

Quatuor hic juvenes; totidem, quos educat Ufens,  
Viventes rapit, inferias quos immolet umbris,  
Captivoque rogi perfundat sanguine flammās.

Virg. *Æn.* x. 517.

*Ἀκριδοθήρα*, a net made of straw or stalks of the asphodel for catching locusts or grasshoppers, *decipula*. (Theoc. *A.* 52.)

αὐτὰρ ὄγ' ἀνθερίκασσι καλὰν πλέκει ἀκριδοθήραν.

*Ἀμβολισργος*, slow or irresolute in action, *dilator*. (See Blomf. on *Æsch.* Sept. ad Theb. 1030.)

*Γόης*, a juggler, *prastigiator*. This word is generally considered not as a primitive, but a derivative of *γοάω*. It is used by St. Paul (11. ad Tim. iii. 13.) as synonymous with *ὁ πλάνος*, a term of reproach applied by the Jews to Christ. (Matt. xxvii. 63.) The witty Lucian makes Alexander in the shades describe his preceptor Aristotle under the character of *γόης καὶ τυχνίτης*.

*Γράνη*, a caverr.; *γρῶνος*, deep.

*Δέλφιν*, -ινες, masses or pigs of lead which were anciently fastened to ships in order to sink those of the enemy. (Thucyd.

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## 202 Contributions to Greek Lexicography.

de Bell. Pelop. lib. vii. 41.—αἱ ἀπὸ τῶν ὀλκάδων δελφινόφοροι ἤρμεναι ἐκώλουν.)

Ἐπίβδα was the *second*, or, according to others, the *fourth* day of a marriage feast among the Athenians; generally anything to come, τὸ μέλλον. (Cf. Pind. Pyth. iv. 249. and see the Scholiast and Heyne ad loc.)

Ἐργάνη, an epithet of Minerva (ap. Pausan. in Laconicis, &c.), nearly answering to the name Ἀθήνα, from the Hebrew **וְנָה**, a thread.

Ἡΐθεος, a young unmarried man. Eurip. Phœn. 962. on which passage Burton remarks in his Pentalogia, "Photius in Lexico Ms. Ἡΐθεος, ὁ ὥραν γάμου ἔχων, καὶ μηδέπω γεγαμηκώς. Quam interpretationem etiam firmat Eustathius in Comment. ad Iliad. 4, p. 500. l. 32." where that learned commentator cites this passage of the Phœnissæ to confirm his interpretation.

Θένας, the *palm of the hand*. Also the hollow of the altar which received the sacrifices. (See the Scholiast on Pindar, Pyth. iv. 367.)

Θίβις, the same as θίβη, an osier basket, *fiscella*. See the LXX on Exod. ii. 3.

Θῶς, a lynx or jackall, *lupus cervarius*: most probably a *lynx*, as the French *loup-cervier*, and the Italian *lupo cerviere*; but Dalzel (Anal. Maj. on Theoc. A, 75.) prefers the latter.

Κεχλήδω, to swell with youthful vigor, as a tree or branch with sap. Fr. *bourgeonner*. Ainsworth interprets the Latin *repullulasco*, to bud forth, *burgeon*, and swell again. Pind. Pyth. 319. κεχλάδοντας ἦβη.

Κηρύκειον, the herald's wand; hence perhaps the Latin *caduceus*, from bearing which heralds were named *caduceatores*. (See Pitiscus, Lexicon Antiq. Rom. ad verb.)

Κυλοιδιάω, -ῶ, to swell the eyes, to *ogle*. Theoc. A, 38. κυλοιδιῶντες; on which line the Scholiast says, οἰδοῦντες τὰ κοῖλα τὰ ὑπὸ τοὺς ὀφθαλμούς.

Κυματοπλήξ, lashed by the waves. ἀκτὰ κυματοπλήξ, Soph. Œd. Col. 1240. (ed. Br.)

Κύψελος, *cypselus*, a kind of swallow, so called from making holes in the mud.

λαμπηδών, splendor of a lamp or star. The Scholiast on Pindar (Pyth. iii. 127.) calls the hymn sung at the Pythian contests, αἶγλην καὶ λαμπηδόνα.

λαμπουρίς, a glow-worm; *lucertola*, Ital.; *ver luisant*, Fr. Also a fox, from its shining tail.

λαῦρα, a square, street, or road; *strata viarum*. Pind. Pyth. viii. 123.

## Contributions to Greek Lexicography. 203

λαχῇ, a ditch or sepulchre. *Æsch. Sept. ad Theb.* 908. ed. Bl. τάφων πατράων λαχαί.

λέπας, a rock. *Κίθαιρῶνος λέπας.* (Eurip. *Phœn.* 24.)

λεύκιπποι, noble or illustrious ancestors. *Nobiles qui quadrigis vecti sunt junctis equis candidis.* (Heyne ad *Pind. P.* iv. 207.) So in *Judges* (iv. 10.): "Speak, ye that ride on white asses, ye that sit in judgment."

μάρπτυσ, al. μάρπτις, a ravisher; one who seizes with violence or treats with contumely and injury. *Æsch. Suppl.* v. 833. ὄδε μάρπτις νάϊος, γαῖδος.

μέλισσα. This word is used by Sophocles to signify not only the bee, but the pure beverage of the bee. (*Œd. Col.* 494.) ὕδατος, μελίσσης also by Pindar for the oracular priestess of Apollo at Delphi. (ἱέρη, an advocate, intercessor, or priest.) See *Pyth.* iv. 106.

μελίσσας

Δελφίδος αὐτομάτῳ κελάδῳ.

So Callimachus, *Hymn. ad Apoll.* 110. of the priestesses or attendants of Ceres:

Δηοῖ δ' οὐκ ἀπὸ παντὸς ὕδαρ φορέουσι Μέλίσσαι.

The Greeks, who are fond of involving truth in the veil of their mythological fictions, deduce the name from Melissa, daughter of Melissus king of Crete, and sister of Amalthæa the fabled nurse of Jupiter.

μνήστωρ, he that makes a present on the part of the betrothed; ὁ δούς τοῦ γάμου τὸν ἀρραβῶνα (Hesych.) but most probably the word in that sense is μνηστήρ. (See Bl. ad *Æsch. Sept. ad Theb.* 165.)

μυέα. St. Paul (*Phil.* iv. 12.) uses this verb, which properly signifies to initiate into the sacred mysteries. Aristophanes (*B.* 321.), οἱ μεμνημένοι, initiati. Our English version by no means conveys the force of St. Paul's ἐνεμύηθην, by translating it *I have been instructed.*

νάρθηξ, a ferule, or hollow rod. Hence the epithet νάρθηκο-πλήρωτος applied by *Æschylus* (*P.* v. 109. ed. Blomf.) to the fire which Prometheus stole from the chariot of the sun to fill his reed with.

ὀβόνη, a sail or sheet. *Epig. Meleag.* εὐφορτοὶ νᾶες. (v. ult.)

οὐρίος ὑμετέρην πνεύσεται εἰς ὀβόνην

for the other sense, see *Acts*, (x. 11.)

πεδὰ, *Æol.* for μετὰ, after; (*Pind. Pyth.* v. 62.)

καὶ πεδὰ μέγαν κάματον

πέσος, -εος, a dead body; πέσημα, -τος, the same.

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Eurip. Phœn. 1715.

ὦ φίλα πεσήματ' ἄθλι' ἀθλίου πατρός.

πεταλισμός, from πέταλον, banishment by the leaf, in use among the Sicilians. *Ostracismus per folia*, Hederic.

πομφόλυσσα, to bubble out, ebullio. Pind. Pyth. iv. 215.

πομφόλυξαν

δάκρυα γηραλέων γλεφάρων.

πέδιλον, a shoe. Pind. Ol. vi. 12.

ἐν τούτῳ πεδί-

-λῳ δαιμόνιον πόδ' ἔχων

Σωστράτου υἱός.

on which passage see the Scholiast.

πραπίδες, the thoughts, mind, heart, or intelligence. Instead of this word, Pindar (Pyth. ii. 161.) uses ἀπάδες; i. e. παρὰ τὰς ἀπίδας· ἀντὶ τοῦ διανοίας. (Schol. ad loc.)

πρῶξ, a marriage portion, ἀπὸ τοῦ πρὸ ἵκειν, because it precedes marriage, analogous to the Hebrew פְּרִיָּה, which primarily signifies to make haste or precede. And hence the fortune of a young woman given in marriage. (See Leigh, Critica Sacra, ad verb. פְּרִיָּה.)

πυρρός, the Tuscan signal of battle, made before the invention of trumpets. (Eurip. Phœn. 1399.)

σαργάνη, a net, sagena; τὸ θηρευτικὸν δίκτυον. Schol. ad Sept. ad Theb. 353.

σεισοπυγίς, the wagtail, motacilla; the same as ἰϋγξ: a bird sacred to Venus, used or invoked in incantations. See Theoc. φαρμακευτ. passim; also the Scholiast on Pindar, (Pyth. iv. 185.) who gives a long and elaborate description of this magical whirlabout: and again on Nem. iv. 56.

σκευή, -ῆς, a vessel, nautical or other apparatus. (Pind. Pyth. ii. 145.) The word σκεῦος is of as general signification as the Hebrew כֶּלִי, whence κῆλα, arms, armour, to which it answers.

σκιᾶδιον, a parasol, to shade or shelter from the sun.

σκυτάλη, a roller, a letter written secretly on leather. See the Scholiast on Pind. Ol. vi. 154.

ἡκύκμων σκυτάλα Μοισᾶν

who gives a very minute description of the form and use of the scytale.

στηλιτεύω, from στήλη, to inscribe on a pillar, a term either of honor or reproach, unlike the Latin calumnior, for columnior, from columna, by the same analogy, but which is used only in a bad sense.

τελχιν, -ίνος, a juggler, a sorcerer, ἀπὸ τοῦ τέλγειν: hence οἱ Τελ-

## Remarks on the Value of Roman Tragedy. 205

χῖνες. See Heyne's note on Pindar, Ol. vii. 98. "Scilicet respici suspicor *Telchines*, qui olim in Rhodo fuere, mirabilibus operibus et ipsos claros, sed cum veneficii infamia." Ovid (Met. vii. 365.) latinizes the word as applied to the Rhodians:

Phæbæamque Rhodon, et Talysios *Thelchinas*.

τενάγη, moist springs or lakes. (Schol. on Pind. Nem. iii. 42.)

προτροπάδαν, in great haste, *cōncitalè*, or, as the French say, *avec empressement*. (Pind. Pyth. iv. 167.)

ὑπέρφεν, beyond measure. (Eurip. Phœn. 563.)

φίλτις, Doricè φίντις, a charioteer: hence applied to the mind or soul, *auriga corporis*. à φίλτατος, (Pind. Ol. vi. 37.)

φριξ, the gentle ripple of the waves. (See the Scholiast on Pindar, Pyth. iv. 325.)

χερμάδιον, a stoning, *lapidatio*. (See Stanley on Æsch. Sept. ad Theb. 306.)

C. A. W.

ior Parsonage.

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## SOME REMARKS ON THE VALUE OF ROMAN TRAGEDY.

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No. IV.—[Concluded from No LXIV.]

WITH regard to the interest which the Roman people at large took in dramatic productions, their taste in forming a judgment, and their susceptibility in feeling the beauties, it is evident from the plainest passages, that those, who confound the Romans in the times of the republic with that contemptible set under the Emperors to whom "*panem et Circenses*" is justly applied, and likewise those who suppose the Romans only to have been sensible to terrible dramatic scenes or to the tawdry pomp which regales the senses, are equally erroneous. We solicit the attention of our readers to the following passages: Horat. Epist. ad Pis. v. 182.

Si dicentis erunt fortunis absona dicta,

Romaui tollent equites peditesque cachinnum.

v. 284:

Offenduntur enim (inepte dictis) quibus est eques et pater et res.

In subsequent passages, he mentions in the most striking manner the high interest which the Romans took in dramatic

productions, and especially the fondness of the aged part of his contemporaries (*seniores*) for the pieces performed by Roscius and Æsop (Ep. II. 1, 60, 82). What he says respecting the populace (c. c. v. 186. and other passages) ought as little to determine our judgment concerning the taste of the Roman people, as the fancies of the rabble at London and Paris our estimate of the dramatic qualities of these capitals. The quotations from Cicero are still more striking. Our classical readers know how highly Cicero praised the Athenian audiences with regard to eloquence; how he celebrated their exquisite discrimination and high relish for rhetorical beauties. (Semper fuit prudens sincerumque judicium, nihil ut possent nisi incorruptum audire et elegans. Eorum religioni cum serviret orator, nullum verbum insolens, nullum odiosum ponere audebat. Orat.) But let any one compare with these commendations of the Athenians, what he pronounces on the taste of the Roman audience, both in reference to eloquence and dramatic performances; and he will find no material difference. We repeat, we may make due allowance for the patriotism of Cicero (for the Roman audience can, no more than any other, at all times be compared to the Athenian); but we should be obliged to declare Cicero to have been out of his senses when he described the judgment of his contemporaries, with respect to the theatre, in such passages as the following, (Paradox, III. 2. de Orat. I. 51. Lælius c. 7.) were we to lend an ear to the exaggerating adherents of Lessing. Nay, the capacity of judging of the most delicate niceties of execution is ascribed by him to the Roman audience, de Orat. III. 25.; and likewise a very marked susceptibility of strong, as well as tender emotions at the theatre. (Compare our quotations in the former part of this article, especially Tusc. I. 44. De Fin. v. 22.) After what has been said, we must not be surprised, that the Roman *mob* (with which title the writers above-mentioned have been pleased frequently to dignify this people) showed, as by other proofs of attention (see above), so especially by the monuments erected to them,<sup>1</sup> their regard for eminent tragic poets—a circumstance calculated to put to shame the interested pride of modern nations, who may find more examples than one of great geniuses having been starved to death.

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<sup>1</sup> Respecting the monuments erected to Ennius, Mævius, and Pacuvius see Cic. pro Archia, c. IX. Tusc. I. 15. Cat. m. 20. Liv. XXXVIII. 39. Ovid. A. A. III. 409. Gellius I. 14. Solin. Polyb. c. 7. Hier. Chron. O. CLIII. 1.

We cannot omit, before we leave this subject, shortly noticing one point, which, in dramatic productions, is of no small weight. In free states the theatre has a natural tendency to utter the political opinions of the nation, and to point, now openly, now covertly, at the temporary political interests. With the Greeks, whose tragedies had throughout national events for their subjects, this was the case in the highest degree; and the Athenian, in whatever situation he beheld his country, whether adverse or prosperous, could not but be deeply affected by innumerable passages in the tragedies. Such political intimations and references, which are most calculated to invigorate and ennoble the universal interest for dramatic performances,<sup>1</sup> were not altogether wanting to the Roman tragedies; and we should, perhaps, have been better enabled to judge thereof, if the national pieces had been preserved. We meet, however, with striking intimations in this respect. We not only possess a considerable number of excellent political maxims scattered in the ancient writers, (v. c. qui recte consulat, consul fuat.—Probis probatum potius, quam multis fere.—Multi iniqui atque infideles regno, pauci sunt boni.—sayings of Attius) but also highly interesting accounts respecting particular events. Cicero refers to Atticus (ep. ad Att. II. 19.): “*Ludis Apollinaribus Diphilus tragædus in nostrum Pompeium petulanter invectus est. Nostra miseria tu es magnus, millies coactus est dicere—Eandem virtutem istam veniet tempus, quum graviter gemes, totius theatri clamore dixit, itemque cætera. Nam et ejusmodi sunt ii versus, ut in tempus ab inimico Pompeii scripti videantur. Si neque mores, neque leges cogunt, et cætera, magno cum strepitu et clamore sunt dicta.*” What he says of himself, (pro Sext. c. 56-58.) is highly deserving of our observation; especially what he relates concerning the applause with which the words of Attius, “*Tullius qui libertatem civibus stabiliverat,*” were received. Statesmen well knew the effect of such passages, and Brutus bore ill will to Antony for having on an important occasion ordered *Tereus* and not *Brutus* to be performed; and Antony, at the obsequies of Cæsar, ordered select passages from the “*Judicium Armorum,*” by Pacuvius, and from the *Electra*,

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<sup>1</sup> There is no such thing in the greater part of modern tragedies. This accounts for the little interest taken in most of them, and also for the low interest of the generality of the public, proceeding only from curiosity, without being dignified by nobler feelings. However, we cannot blame poets for not harping upon a string, of which the sound immediately reminds the poet, in many countries at least, of the prison, or something worse.

by Attilius, to be sung. Vid. Suet. Jul. c. 84., and Appian. B. C. II. 146.

Most of the remarks, hitherto made, apply only to the ancient Roman tragedy. Under Augustus they were less and less read and performed, and together with the aged part of the Romans under this emperor, who had seen the republic, and were still attached to the works of Pacuvius and Attius, (Horat. passim v. c. ep. II.) the taste for these productions, as in general the habits of the republican spirit, died away (*nil prisce moris*. Tac.); and Macrobius (VI. 9.) could say: "*Sæculum nostrum ab Ennio et omnino bibliotheca vetere descendit.*" (Conf. on this subject Osannus Anal. Crit.) A new school of tragic poets arose, the most distinguished of whom were Asinius Pollio, (cf. Thorbeeke Lugd. Batav. 1820, de vita et studiis As. Poll.) Ovid, (whose Medea was so famous. Cf. Burmann ad Anthol. Lat. I. p. 128.) Varius, and Pomponius. (Lipsius ad Tac. Annal. IX. 13.)

Although none of the productions of this school have been transmitted to us, (for Seneca's tragedies belong to the period of decay) yet we may, from the spirit of the Augustan age and some intimations of ancient writers, form a pretty adequate idea respecting them. From the traits with which poets and historians (cf. Dio Cassius, l. IV. 17. Tac. Annal. I. 54. Macrob. II. 7. and the interpreters of Horace, especially Wieland) have described the reign of Augustus, we may see how anxious this autocrat was to change, not only the institutions, but also the spirit of the republic and the character of literature, and to establish, as in political life, so also in the compass of the arts and sciences, a new monarchical age. The event was such as always takes place under despotic governments, raised up in the midst of a cultivated nation (we remind the reader of Louis XIV.); there arose a new school of politics imbued with the doctrine of the cabinet, and a new school of poetry guided by the taste of the court; and only transcendent geniuses, such as Horace and Virgil, did not altogether submit to this taste." The highest degree of refinement, accomplishment in art, and correctness of taste, cannot be denied to the Augustan age; but we should be entirely mistaken respecting the tendency of it, were we to imagine that tragedies, reflecting the elevated moral sentiments, the noble feelings of liberty and patriotism which distinguished the Roman mind, could take place on such ground. The tragic poets, like all others, no longer wrote for the nation but for the refined classes; those who were educated in the principles and taste of

the monarchy, and nursed up with refined sensuality in philosophy and poetry, looked upon the ancient tragedies, as also on the literature of the Roman republic in general, with supercilious disdain and fastidious haughtiness. (Conf. Wieland ad Horat.)

With these views the detached intimations of ancient writers are perfectly consonant. One of the principal passages occurs in Quint. Orat. X. p. 97, where the peculiarities of the ancient tragedy are contrasted with those of the later : *gravitas sententiarum, verborum pondus, auctoritas personarum*, on the one hand ; and on the other, *nitor, eruditio, summa in excolendis operibus manus*. The same ideas will be met with by the classical antiquarian in many passages of Horace : and when Quintilian (in the above-mentioned passage), and Tac. De Caus. Cor. El. c. 12, (two weighty testimonies), consider the Medea of Ovid as a first-rate production of the new school, no one, we imagine, who knows the turn of this poet, can be misled in forming an opinion respecting the productions of this school. We conceive, accordingly, the works of this school to have been most refined imitations of the Greeks, arranged and executed with great art, and conducted throughout by that improvement of taste which marked the age of their origin, but deprived of that high ingeniousness and originality which exalt, and of that stream of internal life which so wonderfully animates, the Greek tragedies ; and divested, in a great measure, of that noble strain of tragic passions, that power of great sentiments and dignity of language, which distinguish the ancient Roman tragedies ; and entirely devoid of that species of tragic interest with which it only then is gifted, when it addresses the spirit of nations. In the spirit of the Roman monarchy, the germs of a speedy corruption of the literature were soon visible. Tragedy sunk into a dazzling rhetorical declamation which departed more and more from genuine tragic vigour, and, mixed up with the empty flights of Stoicism, at length became that ridiculous sort of bombast and show which is observable in the tragedies of Seneca. (See Herder von den Ursachen des gesunkenen Geschmacks. Werke 7, IX.) As the adulation and servility of the age of emperors increased, (Plin. Paneg. c. 54. ibique Schwartz) the incapacity for producing any thing like a real tragedy increased likewise ; and the last attempts of this description are undeserving even of the name of tragedies.

In order that we may not omit any essential point relative to our subject, we subjoin to this general view some particular observations upon several circumstances which greatly influenced



the degeneracy of tragedy. We have intimated in one of our previous remarks, that tragedy, to receive a truly tragic character, must address the spirit of nations; and we are not afraid of being disagreed with by any who understand the import of our assertion. But under Augustus (as in every despotic government) the idea of a nation disappeared, not in name, but in reality. It was divided into the monarchical men and the mob (to whom the former supplied *panem et Circenses*). But what had this mob to do with tragedy? It was then nothing but natural that it should be withdrawn from the eyes of the public to particular places of retirement; and this circumstance must again contribute to deprave its character.

We first remember the *Recitationes*, private meetings of the learned and refined part of the contemporaries of the poet, who there recited his productions. This select audience united in itself two capacities: they were critics, to whose judgment the poet submitted his compositions; and they formed that part of the nation whose feelings and imaginations the poet's tragic powers designed to address and to touch.<sup>1</sup> Asinius Pollio first introduced this custom (Thorbeeke l. l.). It is obvious how little such an audience was qualified to receive an uncorrupt impression, and how much it was calculated to engender ostentatious display and adulation, which, in fact, was soon the case.

These private Recitations were not, as far as we know of them, attended with any theatrical apparatus; but this, in a manner, took place at the *musical contentions* (*certamina musica*), which flourished under the Roman Emperors.<sup>2</sup> But what benefit could the tragic muse derive from institutions, which, proceeding from the childish humours of tyrants, cannot be otherwise considered than prostitutions of the great models from which they were copied? Nero, it is reported, in a fit of buffoonery—the prevailing quality of his character—imitated by these *certamina musica* the grand national games of the Greeks (Suet. c. 12.); judges were sitting, and prizes awarded to the victors. Domitian built a particular edifice, *Odeum* (Suet.

<sup>1</sup> Upon these Recitations, conf. Gierig, in *Excursu I. ad Plin. epp. l. II. p. 538.* Heinrich, *Commentatio I. in Juven. Sat. Kilhæ 1806*, and Thorbeeke, *de As. Poll.*

<sup>2</sup> Compare upon these musical contentions, Schwartz *de certam. veterum poetarum*. Altorf: 1728. Waltherus *de Actiacis Capitolinis, aliisque sponibus veterum*. Viteb. 1752. Martin von den *music. Wettstreiten der Alten*. Neue Bibl. der schönen Wiss. 7.

c. 5.); and Hadrian another, called *Athenæum* (Aurel. Vict. de Cæs. c. 14. Script. H. A. I. p. 561. 947.). Whether entire tragedies were performed at these contentions, is not certain; but it is beyond doubt that *μονωδίας* of tragic argument and parts of tragedies were represented by performers who gesticulated conformably to the modulations of the song and flutes, as is evident from the example of Nero himself. (Suet. c. 21. 25. Xiphil. XXIII. 9. 10.\*22.) The principal object on these occasions does not appear to have been the poem and its internal value, but the mode of its representation; no mention is made of poets having carried away the prize, but of performers only, and the general tendency of that age to ludicrous show and farces appears also here. Apuleius (in Florid.) strikingly observes on those meetings: "nimus hallucinabatur, comœdus sermocinabatur, tragœdus vociferabatur, funcrepus periclitabatur, præstigator furabatur, histrio gesticulabatur."<sup>1</sup>

The art of the performers followed the same bent. We have already, on an earlier occasion, adverted to the variation which this art underwent in the Augustan age; a new school sprung up, not only in tragic poetry, but also in tragic performance. We think we have sufficiently characterised the earlier mode of tragic action, which was carried to the highest pitch of excellence by Roscius and Æsopus; gestures full of dignity, a certain slow and solemn stateliness of motion, and a grand appearance adequate to the gravity of the tragic personages, (*auctoritas personarum*. Quint.) were the primary traits of those masters. The later action, on the contrary, was less calculated to produce a grand general effect, by the conspiring individual exertions, on the idea of the whole; but the accomplishments of this school were rather conspicuous in the expression of individual emotions, in the agility, pliability, and elegance of the motions, according to the rhythmus, more resembling dance

<sup>1</sup> The peculiar arrangement of these contentions is best known from inscriptions, particularly from a Florentine inscription edited by Sponius, Miscell. x. p. 369. and illustrated by Van Dalen, in Dissert. Antiqu. et marmor. inseiv. p. 259. c. 99. add Gruter, Inscript. Antiqu. p. cccxxx. et m lxxix. Montfauc. Palæogr. p. 170, 71. Histoire de l'Ac. des Inscr. l. xiv. p. 107. sqq. Muratorii Thes. p. dclix. Fabretti. Inscr. x. p. 704. It is evident from these inscriptions, that the players (or performers) were divided into certain societies, on the model of the Greek *Thiasotæ*, with a peculiar priesthood, magistrates, offices, and laws. These societies were called *Synodi*, *sacra Synodi*, and the members of them, *Synoditæ*, *parasiti Apollinis*, *adlecti scenæ*, *Scenici*. Vid. Scaliger ad Festum, v. *Salva res est*, et in *Ausoniæ Lectionibus* ii. c. 9.

than tragic carriage, and in the most artificial adaptation of gestures to the feelings and sentiments of individual passages. Cf. Tac. de oratt. c. 20. Quint. XI. c. 3. 57. 58. cc. De Caus. Corr. El. 26. Gell. N. A. I. 5. Senec. ep. 21. (in omnem significationem rerum et affectuum parata est illorum manus, et verborum velocitatem gestus adsequitur.) The difference between the ancient and modern schools was so great, that Tacitus in the above-cited passage (c. 20.) could say: "Nec magis perfert (vulgus) in judiciis tristem et impexam antiquitatem, quam si quis in scena Roscii aut Turpionis Ambivii exprimere gestus velit." For the oratorical action underwent a similar change (as we have before observed) and gradual degeneracy. From the character of this action it may easily be imagined that it was capable of representing detached portions of tragedies, or *μωυθδίας*, which with the action of Roscius would scarcely have been possible. It is clear that it assumed more and more the nature of pantomimic action; and this circumstance, in conjunction with the effeminate and sensual character into which theatrical music degenerated, (Quint. V. 10. 3. Plutarch. de musica, passim. Sympos. IX. 15.) and the general bias of the age, concurred in alienating it entirely from its original destination.

In fact, the pantomimes which we have mentioned gradually absorbed all other dramatic exertions and interest, and we cannot, for this reason, omit noticing this point briefly before we close our subject.<sup>1</sup> We, indeed, willingly subscribe to the judgment of Lucian who commends the artificial merit of pantomimes, and we have mentioned with due commendation the art of tragic gestures which proceeded from, or rather formed part of, the pantomimes; nor are we averse to the opinion of Libanius, who does not consider them dangerous to morality, but it must be with this condition however, that public spirit or particular regulations keep them within their bounds.<sup>2</sup> Moreover we do not mean to deny that the pantomimic artists often dwelt on serious and becoming subjects, and we are disposed to believe that, under Augustus, the degeneracy of this branch of the representative arts was less obvious and striking.<sup>3</sup>

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<sup>1</sup> Cf. upon Pantomimes, the excellent observations of Müller de genio ævi Theodotiani, part. II. Götting. 1798. p. 103. sqq.

<sup>2</sup> Lucian, (de saltatione) and Libanius (adversus Aristidem pro saltatoribus, t. III. p. 345. sqq. ed. Reiske) were the writers who most advocated this art.

<sup>3</sup> The pantomimic character of Pylades, the celebrated master under

But even from the beginning this art trespassed beyond the artificial line<sup>1</sup> which ought not to have been exceeded, and became, even by this circumstance alone, detrimental to other branches of poetry, and to tragedy in particular. We will not here discuss the nature of this line; we will content ourselves with statements, which, we think, will be sufficiently illustrative of our assertion.

The pantomimics not only represented subjects of which the plan and arrangement were laid down by themselves, (so that ingenious writers have, in some manner, ranked them with the tragic poets,) and whose execution, the very object of their art, Manilius Astron. L. V. so excellently depicts in the following words :

Nunc saturo gestu referetque affectibus ora,  
Et sua dicendo faciet solusque per omnes  
Ibit personas et turbam reddet in uno,  
Aut maguos heroas aget scenisque togatas,  
Omnis fortunæ vultum per membra reducet,  
Æquabitque choros gestu, cogetque videri  
Præsentem Trojam Priamumque ante ora cadentem ;  
Quodque aget, id credas stupefactus imagine veri.

(Conf. Sidon. Apollin. carm. XXIII. v. 268. Lucian, de salt.

Augustus, whose accomplishment in that art was so transcendent that most of his followers were called by his name, (Senec. Nat. Quæst. vii. 32. Controv. Excurs. III. p. 397, ed. B-p.) is thus described by Athenæus (l. i. c. 17. p. 77. ed. Schw.): *δγκώδης παθητικὴ τε καὶ πολὺνατος*. Macrobius relates that when Ulysses, another artist, representing a song, the close of which sounded *τὸν μέγαν Ἀγαμέμνονα*, made a grand and lofty gesture, Pylades angrily exclaimed, *σὺ μακρὸν οὐ μέγαν ποιεῖς*. He then performed the song himself, and when he arrived at that passage he expressed the gesture of thinking, maintaining that nothing more became a great leader than to think for all. Lucian (l. i. § 79.) states that the pantomimics often moved the audience to tears.

It is astonishing to what extent this art was carried: the pantomimics not only performed poetical pieces, but even attempted to represent philosophical subjects (Athen. i. c. 17. p. 75. ed. Schw., where the pantomimic Memphis is called a Pythagorean philosopher, because he represented this philosophy—according to the judicious illustration of this passage by a learned man) and a succession of historical facts. (Athen. xiv. 3. p. 620. Hegesias is stated to have represented the Persian war of Herodotus.) The Greeks, therefore, used the significant words, *διατίθεσθαι* and *διάθεσις*; vid. Casaub. de satyrica poesi, i. c. 4. The Latin expressions, *sultare*, *saltatio*, are less expressive. The word *pantomimi* is never used of the art, but of the persons who exercised it; and even in the only passage in which it seems to be applied to the art, (Plin. H. N. vii. 53.) it refers to a person.

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§ 79.) ; but they also made use of the most celebrated poems for the purposes of their art. We do not here speak of those poems which were exclusively composed for the use of pantomimes, and called *ὑποχρήματα*, (vid. Athen. l. 15. XIV. 617. 628. Plutarch. de Musica, c. 9. Genell über das Theater zu Athen. p. 105. Thiersch, Einleitung zu Pindar's Werken. S. 64. c. 99.) but of the practice of employing epic and dramatic poetry for the display of their art. It is evident from Macrobius, (Sat. v. 17.) that the history of Dido in the *Æneid* was a continual subject of exercise, not only for painters, but also for pantomimics ; and Suetonius distinctly relates that Nero danced Turnus in the *Æneid* : hence, perhaps, the opinion that Virgil had written tragedies. As to tragedies, the matter is equally placed beyond question. Juvenal (sat. VII. 92.) states the fact with respect to the Agave of Statius (cfr. Frankii examen criticum Juvenalis vitæ. Altonæ et Lips. 1820. p. 127.) ; and the testimony of Seneca (Suas. II. p. 20. ed. Bip.) is still more explanatory of our subject ; so much so, that we have no doubt of the correctness of the explication given by Salmasius (ad Vopis. p. 834.) of a stone erected in honour of the pantomimic Theocritus. (Gruter. p. MXXIV.) On the right side is a personage with a *pallium* ; on the left, one with a *chlamys* ; the right hand holding up a mask, and a lance in the left. By the former image is written *Jona* ; by the latter, *Troadas* ; and above, “ sui temporis primus.” Salmasius explains this, that the pantomimic, in performing these two tragedies of Euripides, had excelled all others and himself also. Compare also on our subject the remarks of Sirmondus ad Sid. Apollin. VIII. 9.

This destination of epic and tragic pieces was obviously a degeneration of poetry, and qualified far more than the gladiatorial games to corrupt all sense for poetical excellence. This abuse, however, formed only part of the general and progressively increasing tendency of the age. In proportion as tyranny, adulation, and servility increased, the taste for the intrinsic value and beauties of poetry gradually decreased, and became more and more directed to the external and theatrical part of the fine arts. We need not observe that, on such ground, no productive genius in tragedy could rise. That, in particular, the fondness for pantomimes at length engrossed every other interest, must not be wondered at ; we should only wonder that this art still occasionally dwelt on serious subjects. For there was perhaps no branch of the fine arts, which was in such a degree depraved by the general corruption of public morals as the pantomimes. All the severe authors of the later times coincide in their senti-

ments upon the degeneracy of this art, in itself capable of so much excellence : as the life of the pantomimic was laden with shame and dishonor, so the art was branded with the most futile, frivolous, and obscene subjects, the last and favorite dish of a degraded and effeminate populace.

L. SNELL.

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EMENDATIONES MISCELLÆ. Auctore  
J. SEAGER, Bicknor Wallicæ in Com. Monumethiæ  
rectore.

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XENOPHON Memorab. Lib. i. cap. 2. sect. 32. ed. Simpson, Oxon. 1741. recentiores enim in præsentia adire non licet.

τιμῶμαι δὲ μάλιστα πάντων καὶ παρὰ θεοῖς, καὶ παρὰ ἀνθρώποις, οἷς προσήκει. Ineptissimum est προσήκει, ab omnibus enim, non a quibusdam, Virtutem in honore haberi par est. Scribendum igitur, οἷς ΠΡΟΣΗΚΩ, i. e. ab illis, qui mecum stant, qui mearum partium sunt.

Xenoph. Memorab. iii. 11. 10. Cum Theodota meretrice loquens Socrates, inter alia dicit, φιλεῖν γε μὴν εὖ οἶδ' ὅτι ἐπίστασαι οὐ μόνον μαλακῶς, ἀλλὰ καὶ εὐνοϊκῶς καὶ ὅτι ἀριστοὶ σοι εἰσὶν οἱ φίλοι, οἶδ' ὅτι οὐ λόγῳ ἀλλ' ἔργῳ ἀναπείθεις. Ne quærat quod absurdum putet, qui hæc verba καὶ ὅτι ἀριστοὶ σοι εἰσὶν οἱ φίλοι, legerit. Una tamen litera mutata sententia optima efficiatur ; καὶ ὅτι ἈΡΕΣΤΟΙ σοι εἰσὶν οἱ φίλοι, οἶδ' ὅτι οὐ λόγῳ ἀλλ' ἔργῳ ἀναπείθεις. et placere tibi amicorum tuos, &c.

Ἢ σύν τ' ἀνάγκῃ σύν τ' ἐνιπῆσιν, μόγις

ἔρξε γούν ἅπαντα, καὶ πονήσατο

ἈΡΕΣΤΑ.

Simonides de Mulieribus.

ἔμοι τῶν σῶν λόγων

ἈΡΕΣΤΟΝ οὐδέν, οὐδ' ἀρσθείη πατέ.

Sophocl. Antig. v. 500.

οὐκ ἐτολμᾶτε ἀπολιπεῖν τὰς τάξεις, οὐδὲ τὰ ἈΡΕΣΤΑ ὑμῖν αὐτοῖς αἰρεῖσθαι. Lysias κατὰ Ἀλκιβ. p. 526. ed. Reisk. οἱ δὲ τούναντίον ἀπηγόρευον, ὥς οὐδενὶ τῶν κρειττόνων καὶ ὑπὲρ ἡμᾶς ἈΡΕΣΤΗΝ οὐσαν οὕτω βάρβαρον καὶ παράνομον θυσίαν. Plutarch. in Pelopid. p. 527. ed. H. Steph. ἡ δὲ τῆς ἰδίας διανοίας αἰδῶς καὶ ἡμῆ σεαυτῶ τε ἈΡΕΣΤΟΝ σε ποιήσει, καὶ τοῖς κοινωνικῇς εὐάρμοστον. Marcus Antoninus Ad Seipsum vi. 16.—Cæterum φιλεῖν h. l. verbum nequam est.

Xenophon Memorab. i. 2. 54. Ἐλεγε δὲ ὅτι καὶ ζῶν ἕκαστος ἑαυτοῦ, ὃ μάλιστα φιλεῖ, τοῦ σώματος ὃ τι ἂν ἀχρεῖον ἦ καὶ ἀνωφελές, αὐτός τε ἀφαιρεῖ, καὶ ἄλλω παρέχει. Vertitur,—*de corpore suo, quod omnium maxime diligit. Atqui verum non est, unumquemque corpus suum omnium rerum maxime diligere: et ita loqui philosophum, Socratem præsertim, minime decet. Relativum ὃ τὸ ἑαυτοῦ spectat, non τὸ σώματος;*

Xenophon Memorab. i. 3. 3. ἐνόμιζε τοὺς θεοὺς ταῖς παρὰ τῶν εὐσεβεστάτων τιμαῖς μάλ᾽ αἰρεῖν. f. μάλιστα χαιρεῖν.

Xenophon Memorab. i. 4. 8. τάδε, ὑπερμεγέθη, καὶ πλῆθος ἄπειρα, δι' ἀφροσύνην τινὰ ὡς οἶσι εὐτάκτως ἔχειν; Scribendum videtur οὕτως οἶσι εὐτάκτως ἔχουν;

Xenophon Memorab. i. 4. 14. οὔτε γὰρ βοὺς ἂν ἔχων σῶμα, ἀνθρώπου δὲ γνώμην, ἡδύνατ' ἂν πράττειν ἃ ἐβούλετο· οὐδ' ὅσα χεῖρας ἔχει, ἀφρονα δ' ἐστὶ, πλέον οὐδὲν ἔχει· σὺ δὲ ἀμφοτέρων τῶν πλείστου ἀξίων τετυχηκώς, οὐκ οἶσι σοῦ θεοὺς ἐπιμελεῖσθαι; ἀλλ' ὅταν τὶ ποιήσωσι νομιεῖς αὐτοὺς σοῦ φροντίζειν; "Tū huc loco eximiam vim habet: Si quid Diī illustre fecerint, ex quo intelligi posset, Deus esse. Stephanus τί scribendum censet, hoc sensu, Quid facientibus Diis credes, &c. Sed quid fiet particulæ ὅταν, et quam vim habebit?" Ernest.

Quasi Stephani lectio non æque ac illa, quam probat Ernestus, particulam ὅταν flagitet! Veræ lectionis, Stephani dico, qui non temere errat, sensus est, When will you think they care for you? *when* they shall do—*what*? Plato Alcibiad. i. p. 216. l. 13. ed. Basil. prim. ὧ Ἀλκιβιάδῃ, ἘΠΕΙΔΗ περὶ ΤΙΝΟΣ Ἀθηναῖοι διανοοῦνται βουλευέσθαι, ἀνίστασαι συμβουλευέσων; ἄρ', ἐπειδὴ περὶ ὧν σὺ ἐπίστασαι βέλτιον ἢ οὗτοι; Ita enim ibi quoque legit idem vir magnus II. Stephanus.

Xenophon Memorab. i. 6. 9. ἐκπολωρκεθῆναι δὲ πότερος ἂν θᾶπτον, ὃ τῶν χαλεπωτάτων θεόμενος μᾶλλον, ἢ ὃ τοῖς ῥάστοις ῥάστως ἐντυγχάνειν ἀρκούντως χρώμενος;

"Ῥάστως Cel. Gesnero suspectum est." Simps. Forsitan τοῖς ῥάστοις ὩΣΤΕ ἐντυγχάνειν.

Xenophon Memorab. ii. 10. 1. εἰπέ μοι, ἔφη, ὦ Διόδωρε, ἄν τις σοι τῶν οἰκετῶν ἀποδρᾷ, ἐπιμελῇ ὅπως ἀνακομίσῃ; Καὶ ἄλλους γε, νῆ Δί', ἔφη, παρακαλῶ σῶστρο τούτῳ ἀνακηρύσσειν. Mallem καὶ ἄλλους γε, νῆ Δί', ἔφη παρακαλῶ (scilicet ἐπιμελεῖσθαι ὅπως ἀνακομίσωμαι) σῶστρο τούτῳ ἀνακηρύσσειν.

Xenophon Memorab. iii. 1. 11. Ἀτὰρ, ἔφη, πότεράν σε τάττειν μόνον εἰδάζειν, ἢ καὶ ὅποι καὶ ὅπως χρηστὴν ἐκάστω τῶν τακτέων; "Siotheus ταγματῶν." Simps.—Fors. ἐκάστῃ τῶν τάξεων.

Xenophon Memorab. iii. 4. 8. Οὐκοῦν, ἔφη, τὸ μὲν τοὺς ἀρχομένους κατηκούς τε καὶ εὐπειθεῖς ἑαυτοῖς παρασκευάζειν, ἀμφοτέρων

(οἰκονόμου τε καὶ στρατηγού) ἐστὶν ἔργον; Καὶ μάλα· ἔφη. Τί δέ, τὸ προστατεῖν ἐκάστους ἐπιτηδεῖους πράττειν; Καὶ τοῦτο, ἔφη.

“Bessario legisse videtur, si ex interpretatione iudices, τὸ προστάττειν ἐκάστους τὰ ἐπιτήδεια πράττειν. Eam lectionem cum in priori editione secutus esset Leunclavius, postea diligentius inspectis codd. legendum statuit, τῷ προστατεῖν ε. ε. π. Sed non videtur articulus τὸ abesse posse. Itaque si τῷ esset e Xenophonte, non dubitarem, esse legendum τὸ τῷ, aut pro τί δέ, τὸ δέ. Mihi non liquet quomodo legendum, etsi, quid dicere Socrates voluerit, videam; nempe quod c. 9. § 11. de officio imperantis, προστάττειν ὅ τι χρῆ ποιεῖν.” Ernest.

Nec ita clare vidit Ernestus quid dicere voluerit Socrates, et quomodo legendum esset, liquere debuit; nempe τὸ προστατεῖν ἐκατέρους ἐπιτηδεῖους πράττειν; Constructio est, τί δέ; τὸ ἐκατέρους (et patremfamilias videl. et imperatoieni) πράττειν (efficere, operam dare) ἐπιτηδεῖους προστατεῖν; Rursus: *nonne et patrisfamilias et imperatoris partes sunt, efficere ut idonei rebus praeint, imperium habeant?*

Xenophon. Memorab. 3, 5, 16. πότε γὰρ οὕτως Ἀθηναῖοι, ὥσπερ Λακεδαιμόνιοι, ἢ πρεσβυτέρους αἰδέσονται, οἱ ἀπὸ τῶν πατέρων ἄρχονται καταφρονεῖν τῶν γεραιτέρων; ἢ σωμασκήσουσιν οὕτως, οἱ οὐ μόνον αὐτοὶ εὐεξίας ἀμελοῦσιν, ἀλλὰ καὶ τῶν ἐπιμελουμένων καταγελάσωσι; πότε δὲ οὗτοι πείσονται τοῖς ἄρχουσιν, οἱ καὶ ἀγάλλονται ἐπὶ τῷ καταφρονεῖν τῶν ἀρχόντων; ἢ πότε οὕτως ὁμονήσουσιν—κ. τ. λ.

Ut interrogatiunculae inter se congruant, legendum, πότε δὲ οὕτως πείσονται τοῖς ἄρχουσιν.

Xenophon. Memorab. 3, 8, 4. πῶς οὖν, ἔφη, τὸ τῷ καλῷ ἀνόμοιον καλὸν αὖν εἶη; ὅτι, νῆ Δί', ἔφη, ἔστι μὲν τῷ καλῷ πρὸς δρόμον ἀνθρώπων ἄλλος ἀνόμοιος, καὶ ἄλλος πρὸς πάλην. ἔστι δὲ ἀσπίς, καλὴ πρὸς τὸ προβαλέσθαι, ὡς ἐνὶ ἀνομοιοτάτῃ τῷ ἀκοντίῳ, καλῷ πρὸς τὸ σφόδρα τε καὶ ταχὺ φέρεσθαι. Depravata lectio mutatione τοῦ καλὸς in καὶ ἄλλος: restituatur igitur vera, ἔστι μὲν τῷ καλῷ πρὸς δρόμον ἀνθρώπων ἄλλος ἀνόμοιος, ΚΑ10Σ πρὸς πάλην.

Xenophon. Memorab. 3, 9, 4. προσερατωμένους δὲ, εἰ τοὺς ἐπισταμένους μὲν ἂν δεῖ πράττειν, ποιῶντας δὲ τάναντία, σοφούς τε καὶ ἐγκρατεῖς εἶναι νομίζοι· οὐδέν γε μᾶλλον, ἔφη, ἢ ἀσόφους τε καὶ ἀμαθεῖς.

Concinnitas postulat, οὐδέν γε μᾶλλον, ἔφη, ἢ ἀσόφους τε καὶ ἀκρατεῖς.

Xenophon. Memorab. 3, 10, 4. Ἄγ' οὖν, ἔφη, γίγνεται ἐν ἀνθρώπῳ πάποτε φιλοφρόνως καὶ τὸ ἐχθρῶς βλέπειν πρὸς τινάς;

Non multum abluunt haec a lectione, quae mihi vera esse videtur; scil. ἂν' οὖν, ἔφη, γίγνεται ἐν ἀνθρώπῳ τῷ (ῥίῳ τιμῇ) τό τε φιλοφρόνως καὶ τὸ ἐχθρῶς βλέπειν πρὸς τινάς;



Xenophon. Memorab. 3, 10, 5. Ἀλλὰ μὴν τὸ μεγαλοπρεπές τε καὶ ἐλευθέριον, καὶ τὸ ταπεινόν τε καὶ ἀνελεύθερον, καὶ τὸ σωφρονητικόν τε καὶ φρόνιμον, καὶ τὸ ὑβριστικόν τε καὶ ἀπειρόκαλον, καὶ διὰ τοῦ προσώπου, καὶ διὰ τῶν σχημάτων, καὶ ἐσώτων καὶ κινουμένων ἀνθρώπων διαφαίνει.

Pro σωφρονητικὸν reponendum σωφρονικόν.

Xenophon. Memorab. 3, 14, 5. Ἄλλον δὲ ποτε τῶν συνδείπνων ἰδὼν ἐπὶ τῷ ἐνὶ ψάμῳ πλείονων ὄψων γεύομενον ἄρα γένοιτ' ἂν, ἔφη, πολυτελεστέρα ὀψοποιία, ἢ μᾶλλον τὰ ὄψα λυμαινομένη, ἢ ἣν ὀψοποιεῖται ὁ ἄμα πολλὰ ἐσθίων, καὶ ἄμα παντοδαπὰ ἡδύσματα εἰς τὸ στόμα λαμβάνων;—Legendum—γένοιτ' ἂν, ἔφη, πολυτελεστέρα ὀψοποιία, ἢ μᾶλλον τὰ ὄψα λυμαινομένη, ἢ ἣν ὀψοπριεῖται—κ. τ. λ. De mendo tam manifesto vix admonuisssem, nisi fraudem interpreti fecisset, qui vertit; “ Num fuerit, ait, sumptuosior obsonii confectio *EA QUÆ* magis obsonia corrumpit, an quam instituit is qui multa simul comedit,” &c.

Xenophon. Memorab. 4, 2, 2. εὐθὺς ἔφη εἶναι τὸ οἶσθαι, τὰς μὲν ὀλίγου ἀξίας τέχνας μὴ γίνεσθαι σπούδαίς ἀνευ διδασκάλων ἱκανῶν, τὸ δὲ προεστάναι πόλεως (πάντων ἔργων μέγιστον ὄν) ἀπὸ ταυτομάτου παραγίγνεσθαι τοῖς ἀνθρώποις.

Fors : μὴ γίνεσθαι καὶ σπουδαίς—*Even to*, &c.

Xenophon. Memorab. 4, 4, 14. Καὶ ὁ Ἰππίας, νόμους δ' ἔφη, ᾧ Σώκρατες, πῶς ἂν τις ἡγήσαιο σπουδαῖον πράγμα εἶναι, ἢ τὸ πείθεσθαι αὐτοῖς, οὓς γε πολλάκις αὐτοὶ οἱ θέμενοι ἀποδοκιμάσαντες μετατίθενται; Καὶ γὰρ πόλεμον, ἔφη ὁ Σωκράτης, πολλάκις ἀράμεναι αἱ πόλεις πάλιν εἰρήνην ποιοῦνται; Καὶ μάλα, ἔφη. Διάφορον οὖν τι οἶε ποιεῖν, ἔφη, τοὺς τοῖς νόμοις πειθομένους φαυλίζων, ὅτι καταλύοιεν (καταλυθεῖεν Stobæus) ἂν οἱ νόμοι, ἢ εἰ τοὺς πολέμους εὐτακτοῦντας ψέγοις, ὅτι γένοιτ' ἂν εἰρήνη; ἢ καὶ τοὺς ἐν τοῖς πολέμοις ταῖς πατρίσι προθύμως βοηθοῦντας μέμφῃ; Rescribendum videtur, Διάφορον οὖν τι οἶε ποιεῖν, ἔφη, τοὺς τοῖς νόμοις πειθομένους φαυλίζων, ὅτι καταλυθεῖεν ἂν οἱ νόμοι, ἢ εἰ τοὺς Εἰς ΤΟΤΣ' πολέμους εὐτακτοῦντας ψέγοις, ὅτι γένοιτ' ἂν εἰρήνη;

Xenophon. Memorab. 4, 7, 2. Ἐδίδασκε δὲ καὶ μέχρι ὅτου δέοι ἔμπειρον εἶναι ἐκάστου πράγματος τὸν ὀρθῶς πεπαιδευμένον. αὐτίκα γεωμετρίας μέχρι μὲν τούτου ἔζη δεῖν μαθάνειν, ἕως ἱκανός τις γένοιτο, εἴποτε δεήσει, γῆν μέτρω ὀρθῶς ἢ παραλαβεῖν, ἢ παραδοῦναι, ἢ διανεῖμαι, ἢ ἔργον ἀποδείξασθαι. Vertitur ἔργον ἀποδείξασθαι, *opus designare*. Non hoc vult Socrates; verum opus, quod locatum fuerit, accipere, probare. Reponendum igitur, ἔργον ἀποδείξασθαι.

Xenophon. Memorab. 4, 7, 5. Τὸ δὲ μέχρι τούτου ἀστρονομίαν μαθάνειν, μέχρι τοῦ καὶ τὰ μὴ ἐν τῇ αὐτῇ περιφορᾷ ὄντα, καὶ τοὺς πλανητάς τε καὶ ἀσταθμήτους ἀστέρας γινώσκειν, καὶ τὰς ἀποστάσεις

αὐτῶν ἀπὸ τῆς γῆς, καὶ τὰς περιόδους, καὶ τὰς αἰτίας αὐτῶν ζητοῦντας κατατρίβεσθαι, ἰσχυρῶς ἀπετρέπεν. Legendum TOT δὲ μέχρι τούτου ἀστρονομίαν μανθάνειν—ἀπετρέπεν.

Lysias. KAT' ANΔOKIΔ. AΣEB. p. 240. l. 2. ed. Reisk. 'Ἀλλὰ λέξει, ὅτι μηνυτὴς ἐγένετο· καὶ ἕτερος οὐδεὶς ὑμῖν ἐβελήσει μηνύειν, ἐὰν κομίζητε. Ἀνδοκίδης δὲ ἔχει μήνυτρα παρ' ὑμῶν, σώσας τὴν αὐτοῦ ψυχὴν, ἐτέρων διὰ ταῦτα ἀποθανόντων.

“κομίζητε] Alii alias tentarunt emendandi vias; mihi hæc placet, ut legatur τὰ μήνυτρα αὐτὸς μὴ κομίζηται. Si ipse (Andocides puta) *præmio iudicii fraudetur*.” Reisk.

Simplicius et probabilius esset, καὶ ἕτερος οὐδεὶς ὑμῖν ἐβελήσει μηνύειν, ἐὰν ΚΟΛΑΖΗΤΕ. Superius dixerat ἴσως οὖν καὶ Κηφισίου (accusatoris) ἀντικατηγορήσει, καὶ ἔξει ὃ, τι λέγῃ. (Editum est λέγοι, quod σύλοικον.) τὰ γὰρ ἀληθῆ χρὴ λέγειν. ἀλλ' ὑμεῖς οὐδ' ἂν δύνασθε τῇ αὐτῇ ψήφῳ τὸν τε ἀπολογούμενον καὶ τὸν κατηγοροῦντα κολλάσαι. ἀλλὰ νῦν μὲν περὶ τούτου καιρὸς ἐστὶ γινῶναι τὰ δίκαια· ἕτερος δὲ ἤξει Κηφισίῳ καὶ ἡμῶν ἑκάστῳ, ὃν οὗτος νῦν μεμνήσεται. μὴ οὖν δι' ἐτέρων ὀργὴν τούτου ἀδικοῦντος νῦν ἀποψηφίσθε.

Lysias. KATA AΛKIB. AΕΠOT. p. 529. lin. penult. Οὐκοῦν δεινὸν, ὃ ἄνδρες δικασταί, τούτους μὲν οὕτως εὐτυχεῖς εἶναι, ὥστε, ἐπειδὴν ἐξαμαρτάνοντες ληθῶσι, διὰ τὸ αὐτῶν γένος σώζεσθαι, ἡμεῖς δὲ, εἰ ἐδυστυχῆσαμεν διὰ τοὺς οὕτως ἀτακτοῦντας, μηδένα ἂν δύνασθαι παρὰ τῶν πολεμίων ἐξαιτήσασθαι, μηδ' ἂν τὰς τῶν προγόνων ἀρετὰς λέγῃ. Legendum puto, μηδ' ἂν ΤΙΣ τῶν προγόνων ἀρετὰς λέγοι.—τις, quivis Atheniensium: hoc enim de Atheniensibus generatim dicitur.

Lysias. KATA AΛKIB. AΕIII. p. 530. l. 3. Εἰ δ' ἐκεῖνοι δοκοῦσι βελτίους εἶναι, σώζοντες τοὺς φίλους, δῆλον, ὅτι καὶ ὑμεῖς ἀμείνους δοῦτε εἶναι τιμωρούμενοι τοὺς ἐχθρούς.

ἐκεῖνοι] Amici atque advocati Alcibiadis.

Lysias. EN BOTAH M. A. A. p. 585. Ἰδὴ δὲ τινων ἡσθόμην, ὃ βουλῇ, καὶ διὰ ταῦτα ἀχθομένων μοι, ὅτι νεώτερος ὢν ἐπεχείρησα λέγειν ἐν τῷ δήμῳ. ἐγὼ δὲ τὸ μὲν πρῶτον ἠναγκάσθην ὑπὲρ τῶν ἑαυτοῦ πραγμάτων δημηγορῆσαι. ἔπειτα μέντοι καὶ ἑαυτῷ δοκῶ φιλοτιμότερον διατελῆναι τοῦ δέοντος, ἅμα μὲν τῶν προγόνων ἐνθυμούμενος, ὅτι οὐδὲν πέπαινται τῶν τῆς πόλεως πράττοντες, ἅμα δὲ ὑμᾶς ὁρῶν (τὰ γὰρ ἀληθῆ χρὴ λέγειν) τούτους μόνους ἀξιόους νομίζοντας εἶναι. ὥστε ὁρῶν ὑμᾶς ταύτην τὴν γνώμην ἔχοντας, τίς οὐκ ἂν ἐπαρθείη πράττειν καὶ λέγειν ὑπὲρ τῆς πόλεως; ἔτι δὲ τί ἂν τοῖς τοιούτοις ἀχθοισθε; οὐ γὰρ ἕτεροι περὶ αὐτῶν κριταὶ εἰσιν, ἀλλ' ὑμεῖς.

“ἔτι δὲ τί ἂν τοῖς τοιούτοις ἀχθοισθε; οὐ γὰρ, etc.] Si nihil desit, conjicio, τί ἂν τις τούτοις ἀχθεσθῇ; οὐ γὰρ, etc. *præterea, quid si aliquis his irascatur? quid hoc ad me? non enim alii, sed vos harum rerum iudices estis*. Consentanea sunt hæc τῇ

παρρησία qua per totam orationem usus est. Schottus legit ἀχθολίμην: paulo obscurius si sequentia spectes," &c. &c. MARKLAND.

"Bene habet vulgata. Sententiam hujus loci brevitate non nihil obscuratam studui in Latinis admovenda quasi face circumlocutionis illuminare." REISK.

Latina Reiskii sunt hæc: "Ecquid tandem quoque vos hujusmodi hominum, cujusmodi ego vobis videor esse, pœniteat? Acquiescens itaque vestro de me judicio, reliquorum fremitus tanti non faciam; qui ecquid tandem mihi pœcebunt? Non ipsi sunt hujus causæ cognitores, sed vos estis."

Hoc, puto, est, *To teach light to counterfeit a gloom, face tam obscura illuminare.* Vulgata bene quidem illa habet, ut ait Reiskius. Bene habet; sed non bene intellecta est. Sententia loci, quam nec Marklandus nec Reiskius cepit, hæc est; cur τοῖς τοιοῦτοις, iis qui πράττουσι καὶ λέγουσιν ὑπὲρ τῆς πόλεως, succenseatis? Vestro, non aliorum, arbitrato agunt atque dicunt. Quicquid agant vel dicant, in vestra, non aliorum, potestate sunt. De orationibus eorum vos, non alii, sententiam feretis. Utrum, quod suadeant, faciatis an non, vestra, non aliorum, optio erit. Idem fere dicit Demosthenes, De Corona, p. 318. ed. Reisk. καίτοι ἔγωγ' ὁρῶ τῆς τῶν λεγόντων δυνάμεως τοὺς ἀκούοντας τὸ πλεῖστον μέρος κυρίους ὄντας.

Lysias. ΔΗΜ. ΚΑΤΑΛ. ΑΠΟΛ. p. 783. l. 1. καὶ δέξαιντ' ἂν μικρὰν εἶναι τὴν πόλιν μᾶλλον ἢ δι' ἄλλους μεγάλην καὶ ἐλευθέραν ἡγούμενοι νῦν μὲν διὰ τοὺς ἐκ Πειραιῶς κινδύνους αὐτοῖς ἐξεῖναι ποιεῖν ὅ τι ἂν βούλωνται. ἐὰν δ' ὕστερον ὑμῖν δι' ἐτέρων σωτηρία γένηται, τούτους μὲν ἐπιλύσεσθαι, ἐκείνους δὲ μεῖζον δυνήσεσθαι.

"ἐπιλύσεσθαι] videtur ἐπηλυγάσσεσθαι legendum esse: fore, ut ipsi (sycophantæ) illos vindices libertatis publicæ obruant, obscurent, (luminibus eorum officiant) ipsimet autem (sycophantæ puta) plus in republica possint (quam viri de ea optime meriti). Reisk.

Legendum censeo τούτους μὲν ΕΠΙΑΕΤΣΘΗΣΕΣΘΑΙ, fore, ut hi lapidibus obruantur: τούτους, sycophantas scil. ἐκείνους, reipublicæ servatores.

Lysias. ΚΑΤΑ ΦΙΛΩΝΟΣ p. 889. l. 1. πῶς δ' εἰκός ἐστι τοῦτον, ὃς οὐδὲ τελευταῖος ἐπὶ τοὺς κινδύνους ἦλθε, πρότερον τῶν κατεργασαμένων, καὶ οὕτω συντιμῆναι; "Videtur sic legendum, καὶ οὕτως γε τιμῆναι; σχέτλιόν γ' ἂν εἶναι." Reisk.

Constructio est—τούτον συντιμῆναι πρότερον τῶν κατεργασαμένων, καὶ οὕτω. οὕτω, ἐμφατικὸν est, Taliter, Tam honorifice.

## OXFORD LATIN PRIZE ESSAY, FOR 1825.

Neque id querimus, esse hanc Tribunorum plebis potestatem; tantummodo si quis ea potestate temere est usus.

CIC. DE LEG. AGR. OR. II. c. 12.

### DE TRIBUNICIA APUD ROMANOS POTESTATE.

#### ARGUMENTUM.

Institutionum civilium vim atque naturam ex legum administratione potius quam ex legibus ipsis dignosci posse. Ex nimia et injusta dominatione quam, ante Tribunos plebis constitutos, in plebem exercuerant Patres, ostenditur; 1<sup>o</sup>. Tribuniciam potestatem per se utilem Romanis et necessariam fuisse; 2<sup>o</sup>. Ex sequentibus comprobatur, eandem potestatem ultra suos limites evectam fuisse, et in pessimos usus conversam. Quæritur 1<sup>o</sup>. Quæ fuerit initio Tribunorum potestas, 2<sup>o</sup>. Quæ post auctum collegium; 3<sup>o</sup>. Quibus deinceps calamitatibus eadem potestas Tribunicia occasionem dederit, et quam ob rem tantos progressus fecerit ante primum bellum Punicum. Quæ fuerit Gracchanis temporibus potestas Tribunicia; quæ Syllanis; quæ Pompeianis; quæ denique sub Imperatoribus. Cur Romanis mille cesserit Tribunorum plebis constitutio; 1<sup>o</sup>. Ipsorum Tribunorum facta; 2<sup>o</sup>. Prava Optimatum consilia; 3<sup>o</sup>. Reip. Romanæ πολιτεία.

Eandem conclusio ex perfectiore apud nosmet ipsos administrationis forma deducitur.

**QUÆNAM** fuerit illa civitatis administrandæ ratio, qua in rebus tum externis tum domesticis ordinandis uterentur veteres, si quis accuratius intelligere velit, is profecto singulorum hominum in officiis civilibus exequendis mores atque ingenia, cum singulis ipsis institutionibus compensatos quodammodo, et collatos habeat, necesse est. Parum enim ad politicas res evolvendas profuisset vel summus labor, et summum ingenii acumen, nisi tenebras erroresque philosophiæ suo exemplorum lumine Historia dispulisset. Quemadmodum enim et animo humano et corpori multæ sunt a natura vires inditæ, quæ hominibus, pro uniuscujusque voluntate, aut lucro solent esse aut detrimento; ita fere, si quid commodi vel damni ex civitatibus bene maleque moratis profluat, id vix conditoribus potius et legumlatoribus tribuendum est, quam iis, qui sibi traditis, vel utantur recte, vel abutantur, facultatibus.

Quam quidem opinionem non levi argumento nobismet ipsi confirmare posse videmur, quotiescunque Tribuniciam illam apud Romanos potestatem intenta acie contemplanur. Quam enim nulla omnino hac ipsa potestate utilior esse potuit per se constitutio; ita etiam vix ullam reperies, quæ, propter singulorum imprudentiam atque ambitionem pejus universis et infelicius cesserit.

Quod si ab omnibus comprobatum sit, eam quæ Romæ

obtinet civitatis formam, præ aliis dignam esse, ut admirationem moveat, quippe quæ non solum imperii per orbem pæne universum prolatis fons audiat, ac principium; sed quæ etiam suis ipsa civibus tot tantasque mutationes debuerit; quicquid certe ad tam celebrem, tamque singularem πολιτειαν illustrandam aut explicandam pertineat, cognitum id et perspectum habere, animo tam utilitatem afferet quam delectationem. Istius autem πολιτειας motus orōnis, et, ut ita dicam, anima, ex Tribunicia potestate quam maxime derivata est; hinc civitas, quæ primo unius, dein paucorum administratione utebatur, in plebeiorum manus tradita et dilapsa est; hinc inquietæ civium discordiæ, concertationes, murmura; adeo ut Urbs illa quæ apud exterarum nationes maxima semper fama et nomine vigeret, seditione eadem domestica per secula laboraret.

Quæ igitur qualisque fuerit Tribunicia apud Romanos potestas; quam ob rem constitutus, et quomodo auctus, iste magistratus, accurate perpendamus, et documentis, historiæ fonte deductis, quam amplissime comprobemus. Quibus diligenter perspectis, latius apparebit, unde derivatæ fuerint tot illæ et tam magnæ calamitates, quæ ex reipublicæ administratione populum Romanum indies adorirentur.

Prius tamen, quam illam de Tribunicia potestate quæstionem aggrediamur, operæ pretium erit paucis exquirere, quænam rerum Romanarum, eo tempore quo constituti fuerint Tribuni, forma esset atque conditio.

Exactis Regibus, oblata est populo Romano nomine quidem libertas, re vera aliud impositum, neque id tolerabilius, imperium.<sup>1</sup> Quinetiam supra modum, decusso tandem Tyrannidis jugo, gavisī sunt Patres, et ne reges restituerentur magnopere veriti, libertatis studium, sibi ipsis periculosissimum, in popularem animum infudere.<sup>2</sup> Interca vero totam reipublicæ administrationem iidem sibi ipsis arrogaverant: Patrum erat dignitatem Senatus sustinere;<sup>3</sup> Patrum, rebus sacris, politicis, militariibus præesse; Patrum, in comitiis, litem omnem arbitrio suo decernere; Patrum denique, omnes omnium ordinum homines, per fas et nefas, jure an injuria, opprimere.

<sup>1</sup> Liv. iii. 9. ii. 21. *Fragm. Sallustii* ab Augustino cit. Servili imperio Patres plebem exercere: de vita atque tergo, regio more, consulere, agro pellere, et cæteris expertibus, soli in imperio agere.

<sup>2</sup> Montesquieu.

<sup>3</sup> Montesq. *Esp. des Loix*, l. xi. c. 14. Les Patriciens obtenoient seuls tous les emplois sacrés, politiques, civils, et militaires; on avoit attaché au consulat un pouvoir exorbitant; on faisoit des outrages; enfin on ne lui laissoit presque aucune influence dans les suffrages.

Quam rerum iniquam distributionem, et gravissimam alterius in alteram partem dominationem, neque cum jure naturali, neque cum ullis apud homines societatis vinculis constare posse, testatur quum communis vitæ consuetudo, tum politicorum hominum sententiæ; neque dubitandum est, quin de republica Romana actum fuisset, nisi aliquid supervacaneæ istius auctoritatis Patres cum plebe communicassent.

Ipsa igitur jam in limine hujusce disputationis statuere licet, eam fuisse Tribunorum potestatem, quæ, si modo justis conclusa erat limitibus, neque iniqua fuisset, neque reipublicæ inutilis, quippe quæ ad civitatem æquata lance sustinendam conduxisset. Eandem vero, utpote parum definitam, et in pessimorum hominum manibus non raro positam, fractæ saltem et debilitatæ, ne dicam extinctæ omnino Romanæ libertatis causam fuisse, ex insequentibus commonstrandum puto. Concedi, nimirum, aliquid, salus ipsa reipublicæ postulavit; "concedendo<sup>2</sup> autem omnia," (uti paullatim factum est) adeo non "mitiorem in se plebem habituri erant Patres," ut asperiores plane, et ab se magis magisque alienam, redderent.

1. Jam primum omnium satis liquet, eam potestatem quam secedentes impetrarunt, in aliorum imperio cohibendo, potiusquam in exercendo suo, constituisse. Id solum in Tribunis plebis constituendis prospectum habuerunt Patres, ut suos scilicet magistratus ad jura defendenda, et propulsandam injuriam, plebs adipisceretur. Idcirco<sup>3</sup> neque Senatum ingredi, neque cives in judicium adducere, neque comitia habere, aut coram populo concionari, novis illis Magistratibus licitum fuit. Privati quidem erant, neque ullo aut habitu aut victu ab cæteris discreti civibus. Eatenus tantum auctoritatem sibi viudicabant, ut vim Patrum frangerent intercedendo.

Quicquid autem huic fundamento, levi certe si cum sequentibus conferatur, per se magno forsitan, et optimatibus periculosiori superstructum fuerit, id a consiliis et voluntatibus eorum qui Tribuniciam potestatem postularant, vel eorum saltem, qui postulantis concesserant, alienum videtur, et singulorum

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<sup>1</sup> Aristot. Eth. Nichom. l. viii. c. 55. ἐπὶ μικρὸν δὴ ἐν ταῖς τυραννίσιν αἱ φιλίας, καὶ τὸ δίκαιον.

<sup>2</sup> Liv. iv. 2.

<sup>3</sup> Il sembloit d'abord que le Sénat n'eût rien à craindre des Tribuns, qui n'avoient d'autre pouvoir que celui de s'intéresser à la défense de tous les plebéiens. Ces nouveaux Magistrats n'avoient même dans leur origine ni la qualité des Sénateurs, ni Tribunal particulier, ni juridiction sur les citoyens, ni le pouvoir de convoquer les assemblées du peuple.—Vertot, Rev. Rom. liv. ii.

potius audaciæ atque ambitioni tribuendum. Quandoquidem vero nemini, in politica quam appellant prudentia vel minimum versato, ignotum sit, hujusmodi initia paullatim ad majora tendere, donec ea quæ primo "auxilii latio" nuncupetur auctoritas, in "lubidinem" et "vim"<sup>1</sup> apertam postremo erumpat; hoc præcipue a Patribus cavendum fuit, ne suæ potestatis Tribuni unquam obliviscrentur, et aliena jura sensim invaderent. Quippe manifestum fuit, eos, qui Tribuniciam potestatem non "petierunt"<sup>2</sup> modo, sed et "extorserunt," eadem etiam indulgentia et facilitate, alia alias postulando, fore abusus-ros. Quorum omnino nihil Patres videntur prospexisse; quum enim, uti fieri solet, libertas ista in licentiam paulatim accreverit; quum prava singulorum ambitio Tribunicie potestati indies profecerit; magis tamen adhuc, ipsorum Patrum nunc socordia, et, ut ita dicam, securitas; nunc vero linguæ, potius quam factorum vis; irritæ minæ; aut ira, temere atque impotenter jactata.

2. Duo tantum, an plures redeunti in urbem plebi dati fuerint Magistratus,<sup>3</sup> incertum reliquimus. Satis constat decem<sup>4</sup> fuisse creatos, anno post secessionem tricesimo sexto; quæ res, utrum emolumento magis, an detrimento Patribus esset, addubitemus licet. Latius certe pravi ingenii hominibus patefacta est ad Tribunatum via; et quo auctor factus fuerit eorum numerus, eo periculosior reipublicæ auctoritas. Contra autem odia magis, invidiasque inter ipsos Tribunos augurati sunt Patres, quas ut foverent, alios criminando, alios autem ad suorum partem conciliando,<sup>5</sup> principes eorum summo studio hortabantur.

Quæ quidem collegarum inter se dissensio tum in seditionibus comprimendis maxime valebat, tum illud, ut aiunt, "auxilium" plebi concessum, ad Patres ipsos aliquando transferebat. Hoc enim fuit, quod, priore Tribunicie potestatis anno, motus de lege compescuit;<sup>6</sup> hoc etiam, quod, aucto jam tandem collegio, quum eadem iterum agebatur quæstio, "sex<sup>7</sup> ad intercessionem comparavit;" hoc,<sup>8</sup> quod inexorabiles illos Tribunos, Sextium Liciniumque, a proposito deterruit; hoc denique,<sup>9</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Cic. pro Domo sua. Furiosa *via* vesani Tribuni pl. Liv. vi. 38. Jam vos tribunicia *lubido*, non potestas, regit.

<sup>2</sup> Liv. vi. 41.

<sup>3</sup> Vide Dionys. Hal. et Liv. iii. 30.

<sup>4</sup> Liv. vi. 41.

<sup>5</sup> Liv. ii. 42. Dion. H. l. ix. initio. Cic. de Legg. iii. 10. Quod enim est tam desperatum collegium, in quo nemo e decem sana mente est?

<sup>6</sup> Liv. ii. 44.

<sup>7</sup> Ib. iv. 48.

<sup>8</sup> Ib. vi. 35.

<sup>9</sup> Plut. in Vit.

quod optimatibus in Tiberii Gracchi audaciam aliquid paullisper adjumenti suppeditavit; quamquam id quo minus diuturnum foret, impedimento erant eo tempore violatæ leges, violata omnis hominum societas.

Verum autem hoc ipso telo in Patres armatam fuisse plebem non raro invenimus, eamque Vocem,<sup>1</sup> quæ labanti Consulium auctoritati sæpissime subvenerit, a Tribunis ipsis frequentius usurpatam. Hac enim interposita, neque<sup>2</sup> haberi comitia; neque<sup>3</sup> exerceri magistratus; neque<sup>4</sup> ipsius Senatus decretum valere potuit. "Auctoritatis"<sup>5</sup> tantum nomen consulta illa, Tribunicia intercessione vetita, præ se tulerunt.

Quid vero, si illam intercedendi potestatem Patres ipsi cohibere essent conati? Auxilio sane erant Tribunis Sacræ Leges,<sup>6</sup> quibus cautum fuerat, ut si quis Tribunum aliquem lædere, vel etiam impedire auderet, exilio, vel morte, vel ad minimum bonorum omnium venditione et consecratione multaretur. His freti, nihil erat, quod tentare recusarent; in vincula<sup>7</sup> Tribunos militum; in vincula<sup>8</sup> Censores; in vincula<sup>9</sup> ipsos etiam Consules, vel conjiciebant quidem, vel se conjecturos fore minitabantur; duces,<sup>10</sup> spoliis oneratos, et bellis confectos, honoribus exuebant; Consules<sup>11</sup> in provincias sortito missos, in Urbe retinebant; "sub jugum"<sup>12</sup> denique, summum reipublicæ imperium misit "sacrosancta Tribunorum potestas."

Quod autem maximum erat jus, idemque pessimi exempli; Patribus,<sup>13</sup> quibuscunque vellent, idem dicere Tribuni solebant; unde factum est, ut singulorum invidiis atque inimiciis salus universa non raro cederet. Missum facio C. Marcium, utpote omnium in ore versatum; quid vero de Kæsone<sup>14</sup> dicam, "juvene illo egregio, Naturæque simul et Fortunæ bonis in-

<sup>1</sup> Liv. vi. 35. Faxo, ne juvet vox ista, Veto, &c.

<sup>2</sup> Liv. vi. 35.

<sup>3</sup> Ib. ii. 44. iv. 6. et alibi.

<sup>4</sup> Ib. xlv. 21. Cic. pro Milone, 6.

<sup>5</sup> Liv. iv. 57. Cic. Ep. ad Fam. i. 2. viii. 8.

Polybius: το δε συγχων ειν εις ενιστηται των δημαρχων, ουκ ειν επι τελος αγειν τι δυναται των διαδουλων ε συγκλητος. αλλ ουδε συνδρευειν η συμπορευεσθαι το παραπαν.

<sup>6</sup> Liv. iii. 35. et al.

<sup>7</sup> Liv. v. 9. Dio Cass. l. xxxvii.

<sup>8</sup> Liv. Censorem Appium a P. Sempronio Tribuno pl. prehendi, et in vincula duci jussum esse.

<sup>9</sup> Liv. iv. 26. v. 9. Cic. de Legg. iii. 9. De Leg. Agr. ii. 37. et alibi.

Zonaras l. vii. εδων ουν πολλη αποκα και γαρ και τραπευεις βαλλον εις το δεσμητηριον και εθνατουσ τινας μηδε λογου τυγχανοντας και ουδεις αυτοις ιναντιωθαι ετολμα.

<sup>10</sup> Cic. pro Cælio, 14. Liv. xxxviii. 47. Suet. Jul. C. c. 79.

<sup>11</sup> Cic. de Leg. Agr. i. 8.

<sup>12</sup> Liv. iv. 26.

<sup>13</sup> Liv. v. 29. ii. 61. iii. 66.

<sup>14</sup> Liv. iii. 11, 12.



structo," cui rei capitalis dies dicta fuit, eo potissimum crimine adducto, quod "libertati plebis," vel, ut rectius dicamus, Tribunorum licentiæ, obstitisset? Cui forsán criminationi, id etiám adiciendum erat, quod "unus,<sup>1</sup> impetus Tribunicios, popularesque procellas sustinisset." Quid dicam de Servilio, qui in discrimen capitis ob id solummodo adductus est, quod in Tyrrheno bello se nimis fortem exhibuisset? Illum vero damnare ne iniquissimi quidem iudices potuerunt; adeo valuit tum viri ipsius facundia, tum incusantium causæ pravitas atque injuria. Menenium<sup>2</sup> vero, coram se vocatum, patris ejus in plebem benevolentiae<sup>3</sup> prorsus immemores, primum pecunia, dein vita ipsa exuerunt. Nimirum et judicii pariter, et pœnæ potestas iisdem contigit; et si mulctam tantummodo damnatis dixerint, at vincula aliquando, ipsamque etiám mortem hoc nomine prætegebant.

3. Quæ quum in Patres admitterentur injuriæ, quid mirum, si perpetuis agigaretur discordiis respublica Romana, nunc hac, nunc illa civitatis parte, omnibus denique utriusque ordinis hominibus alterna vi enitentibus,

Ad summas emergere opes, rerumque potiri?

Plus certe Romanis nocebant "certamina"<sup>4</sup> illa et "bella"<sup>5</sup> Tribunicia, quam hostium externorum minæ; has enim, concordia militum et disciplina, aliquando etiám ipsa urbis fama ac nomine, profligare poterant; illa vero in ipsa civitatis constitutione, et, ut ita dicam, corpore,<sup>6</sup> altius quam ut amoverentur, delitescabant. Verum etiám apud exterarum gentes, Quiritium nomini offererunt intestinæ illæ discordiæ, quarum nullam<sup>7</sup> omnino hostes nesciebant, sed quasi pulchras belli occasiones, et "mollia tempora" lubentissime arripiebant. Quod autem

<sup>1</sup> Liv. iii. 11.

<sup>2</sup> Liv. ii. 52. 54. Si aliud quam plebem, in rep. crediderint, exilium C. Marcii, Menenii damnationem et mortem, sibi proponerent oculis.

<sup>3</sup> Liv. ii. 32. 33. 52.

<sup>4</sup> Liv. iii. 67. Discordia ordinum est venenum urbis hujus; Patrum ac plebis certamina.

<sup>5</sup> Liv. iii. 24. Tribunicium domi bellum Patres territat.

<sup>6</sup> Liv. ii. 44. Cic. de Leg. Agr. i. 9. Nullum externum periculum est: non rex, non gens ulla pertimescenda est: inclusum malum, intestinum ac domesticum est.

<sup>7</sup> Liv. ii. 59. Nihil eorum Volsci nesciebant &c.

Ib. ii. 44. Undique ex Etruria auxilia venerant; non tam Veientium gratia concitati, quam quod in spem ventum est, discordia intestina dissolvi rem Romanam posse. Vide etiám lib. iii. 66.

pejoris erat exempli, privatis tandem obscuratam odiis, ac turpi ambitione extinctam, antiquam Romanorum virtutem plorabant consules, increpabant duces. Quippe in delectibus prohibendis assidue sæviebant Tribuni, neque domi tantum, sed foras<sup>1</sup> etiam, prodebant se depravati militum affectus; tum vero, quum “vincere<sup>2</sup> tandem noluerunt Romani,” “finem<sup>3</sup> imperio venisse” omnibus simul visum fuit. Et venisset quidem, nisi extitisset, quæ Romanam rem restitueret, Fabia gens, et in ipso exercitu, virtus quædam, spe major, hostes elusisset.

Perspectis igitur quæ ex Tribunorum potestate rempublicam adortæ erant, ac pæne pessumdederant calamitatibus, sistamus paullulum oportet, et admiremur, quantos tam cito progressus fecisset ea, quam parvam, et in agendo minime sitam, nuperrime contemplati sumus, auctoritas.

Cur autem tanta sibi sumpserit incrementa, causæ non penitus latent. Nihil erat profecto, quod Tribunos tam acriter commovebat, quam quod “auxilii” tantum,<sup>4</sup> non “imperii,” jus iis datum fuisset; et quod cæterorum magistratuum honoribus<sup>5</sup> essent fraudati. Id ipsum fuit quod iudicibus<sup>6</sup> exprobravit C. Marcius; “plebis illos, non patrum, Tribunos esse” vociferans; id etiam Appius,<sup>7</sup> misso ad Lætorem qui clamitaret, “non populi eum, sed plebis, magistratum esse;” quin et eundem postea “privatum” vocat, “sine imperio, sine magistratu.”

Hæc vero quum in ipsos a Patribus conjicerentur opprobria, admodum verisimile fuit contumelias tam graves effugere, atque imperio Consulum suam potestatem æquare, summa vi Tribunos fore conaturos. Quod ut citius efficerent, plurimæ coram plebe concionandi, et Patrum injurias criminandi, occasiones se obtulerunt. Accedebant enim leges agrariæ,<sup>8</sup> frumentariæ,<sup>9</sup> fœnebres;<sup>10</sup> illa transmigrandi Veios actio;<sup>11</sup> illi “de Hibernaculis,”<sup>12</sup> “de Comubiis,”<sup>13</sup> motus. Tribuni enim, toties fere,

<sup>1</sup> Liv. ii. 45.

<sup>2</sup> Liv. ii. 59.

<sup>3</sup> Ib. ii. 45.

<sup>4</sup> Liv. vi. 37. Contemni jam Tribunos pl. quippe quæ potestas jam suam ipsa vim frangat intercedendo; non posse æquo jure agi, ubi imperium penes illos, penes se auxilium tantum sit.

<sup>5</sup> Plut. Quæst. Rom. c. lxxxi. δια τῆ περιπορφυρῶν ὁ δημαρχος οὐ φορεῖ, τῶν ἀλλῶν ἀρχόντων φοροῦντων; ἢ το παραπατ οὐδε ἑστὶν ἀρχῶν;

<sup>6</sup> Liv. ii. 35.

<sup>7</sup> Ibid. ii. 56.

<sup>8</sup> Liv. ii. 34. 44. 52. 61. iii. l. 19. et alibi passim.

<sup>9</sup> Cic. ad Heren. l. 12. pro Sext. 25. Fragmentum Sallustii, “Oratio M. Licinii.”

<sup>10</sup> Liv. v. 24.

<sup>11</sup> Liv. v. 2.

<sup>12</sup> Ib. iv. 2, 3. et alibi.

quoties publicis negotiis se immiscerent, et pro legibus, quas vocabant, popularibus, concionarentur, quasdam<sup>1</sup> etiam de sua dignitate atque auctoritate amplificanda rogationes promulgabant. Placuit igitur, ut fierent, qui Tribunis opem ministeriumque præstarent, Ædiles;<sup>2</sup> placuit,<sup>3</sup> ut qui curiatis fuissent hactenus creati, tributis comitiis crearentur Tribuni; placuit demum,<sup>4</sup> ut quod tributum plebes jussisset, populum teneret; qua lege, ut ipsis Livii verbis utar, "Tribunicis rogationibus telum acerrimum datum fuit." Hisce igitur,<sup>5</sup> aliisque, quæ longum esset oratione persequi, incrementis, in tantam paullatim se extulit auctoritatem, parva licet primo et debilis, Tribunorum potestas, ut id, quod de ea, paucos post institutam annos,<sup>6</sup> Consules, uti tradit Livius, monuerint, verissimum judicare liceat; "Consulares fasces, prætextam, curulemque sellam, nihil aliud quam pompam funeris, putent. Jam nunc in animum inducant, Consulatum captum et oppressum ab Tribunicia potestate esse; Consuli, velut apparitori Tribunicio, omnia ad nutum imperiumque Tribuni, agenda esse." Cujus quidem opinionis id optimum habemus exemplum, quod Consulibus ne concionandi quidem jus Tribuni aliquando permittebant,<sup>7</sup> quum sibi ipsis, quo minus concionantes interpellarentur, auxilio erat lex Licinia.<sup>8</sup>

Tandem etiam, qui extra curiæ parietes Senatus consulta olim expectabant,<sup>9</sup> aut saltem, si quid adversus populi Romani salutem agitari videretur, exprobrandi<sup>10</sup> jus habebant, in Senatum ipsum Tribuni<sup>11</sup> sunt admissi. Denique, ut omnia brevi complectar, non prius conquieverunt Tribuni, quam cunctas civitatis partes, et jura omnia optimatum atque officia sibi ipsis arrogassent.

Jam vero, positis tandem odiis domesticis, omisso cum finitimis bello, ad majora advocati sunt Romani. Tandem aliquando privatas simultates, invidiasque ex animis una omnes

<sup>1</sup> Liv. vi. 39. 42.    <sup>2</sup> Dion. II. vi. 90.    <sup>3</sup> Lex Voleronis, Liv. ii. 58.

<sup>4</sup> Lex Hortensia, Liv. iii. 55. Acad. des Insc. tom. xxxvii. p. 294.

<sup>5</sup> Vid. alia exempla, Liv. vi. 35. et alibi.

<sup>6</sup> Liv. ii. 54.

<sup>7</sup> Cic. in Pis. iii. ad Fam. v. 2.

<sup>8</sup> Dion. H. vii. 17. et *Saturnina*. Plut. in Mario. Cic. pro Sext. 37. Hæc erat lex Licinia, teste Grævio, de Antiq. Rom. vol. i. p. 329. "Concionanti ad populum Tribuno nemo aliquid in contrarium dicit, nec dicentem interpellato."

<sup>9</sup> Zonaras, Ann. lib. vii. Το μεν ουτ πρωτον ουκ εισησιαν εις το βουλευτηριον, παθημενοι δε εις της εισοδος τα ποιουμενα παρεστηρου.

<sup>10</sup> Dion. H. vii. 14.

<sup>11</sup> Dion. H.

dispulerunt; et in hostes Romani nominis, summa erga patriam devincti caritate, irruerunt. Et profecto, vix satis admirari possumus, eos, qui tot procellis agitati fuerant cives, tot in partes distracti, tantam foras animi altitudinem, tamque veram virtutem exhibuisse! Atqui in memoria teneamus oportet, Romanorum animis aliquid magni semper insedissee; quod ne prodiret maturius, ac splendore suo emicaret, impedimento fuerant eorum, qui rempublicam administraverant, animi, suæ potius, quam universæ, salutis providi.

Nondum vero in Urbem malæ artes grassatæ fuerant; nondum perniciosam suam vim luxuries intulerat; aut prava dominandi lubido civium animos occupaverat; libertate frui, aut æqualem sibi vindicare auctoritatem, hoc unum erat, quod summo studio appetebant Tribuni; hoc, quod acerrimis certe, at incruentis tamen, asserebant dimicationibus. Quæ quidem levia videbuntur, nec venia prorsus indigna, si cum serioris ævi calamitatibus atque injuriis conferantur.

Per centum fere annos, bellis peregrinis Romani sunt arctius impliciti, quam <sup>1</sup> ut domesticis vacarent seditionibus. Ea nimirum tempestate, res domi placide modesteque gestas satis ostendunt duces, patriæ verissime amici; incorrupti milites; omnium denique animi, adeo non infortuniis fracti, aut concussi, ut novas <sup>2</sup> inde vires sibi assumpsisse viderentur.

Subdito autem Romanis Carthaginiensium et Macedonum imperio, motibus Tribuniciis occasio iterum oblata est. Tum quidem satis manifestum omnibus visum fuit (quod, aliis occupati negotiis, memoria forsitan dispulerant) quo tandem processisset Tribunorum potestas. Urbem sane illam, quam tot victoriis insignitam, tot spoliis onustam, nuperrime sumus admirati, antiquis denuo distractam odiis, et, quod longe pejoris est exempli, sanguine civili contaminatam, iterum iterumque lugemus.

Quarum quidem calamitatum, causam fuisse eandem hunc Tribunorum potestatem, eam vero ultra jus et fas exercitam, tum veterum testimoniis, <sup>3</sup> quum re ipsa, satis ostenditur.

Verum enimvero, mutatam omnino reipublicæ faciem, mu-

<sup>1</sup> Sall. Bell. Jug. Metus hostilis retinebat civitatem in bonis artibus.

<sup>2</sup> Vide præsertim Liv. lib. xxii. fin.

<sup>3</sup> Florus, l. iii. 14. Seditionum omnium causas Tribunicia potestas excitavit, quæ, specie quidem plebis tuendæ, studium populi, ac favorem legibus, aucupabatur.

tatos<sup>1</sup> civium mores jam tandem sunus contemplaturi. In paucorum manibus, ut olim, re vera posita est, licet nomine quidem popularis, reipublicæ administratio. Quamquam enim plebeiis licuerit, honores, quoscunque voluerint, affectare atque adipisci, at ii certe, quos divitiæ aut eruditio præ cæteris posuissent, jus quoddam imperii exercendi, tacite concessum, sibi vindicavere. Hinc iterum debiliores a præpotentibus opprimi; hinc invidiæ ac seditiones de novo exoriri;<sup>2</sup> et vehemens apud Tribunos studium, plebem in libertatem vindicandi. Quinetiam, victoriis jam undequaque partis, Urbi indies accreverant opes, earumque comes, luxuria; quam non modo non prohibebant Tribuni, verum etiam fovebant:<sup>3</sup> pace definiti, spectaculis, voluptatibus capti, severæ tandem virtutis oblii sunt Romani; et in pejus ruere omnia, testati sunt cives cum civibus præliantes, testata est Urbs, sui ipsius alumnorum<sup>4</sup> sanguine toties madefacta.

His præsertim temporibus, obtinebat illud, perniciosissimum sane, exemplum, ut idem scilicet Tribuni singulis annis reficerentur. Quo more semel admissio, neque imperium sibi constare, neque leges diu potuerunt; nihil enim erat tam grave, tam facinosum, quod non eventurum foret, si ultra justum Magistratus spatium, periculosissima illa auctoritate, non uti tantum, sed abuti etiam, pessimis hominibus licuerit. Idcirco nihil aliud tam vehementer exoptabant Tribuni ipsi; hoc enim fuit,<sup>5</sup> quod prior ille Gracchus, omnia plebi pollicendo, sibi conciliare voluit; hoc, quod Caius,<sup>5</sup> "eiusdem exempli Tribunatum ingressus," bis adeptus est, ter quoque appetivit; hoc

<sup>1</sup> Florus, l. iii. 13. Quæ res alia furores peperit, quam nimia felicitas? Opes enim atque divitiæ affligere seculi mores, mersamque vitis, quasi sentinam, reip. pessumdedere.

Sallust. Bell. J. Mos partium popularium et Senatus factionum ac deinde omnium malarum artium paucis ante annis Romæ ortus est, otio atque abundantia earum rerum quæ prima mortales ducunt. Nam ante Carthaginem deletam, populus et Senatores placide modesteque inter se reip. tractabant.

<sup>2</sup> Sall. Fragm. ab Aulo Gellio cit. Remoto metu Punico, similitudines exercere vacuum fuit; pauci potentes dominationem affectabant; quisque locupletissimus et injuria validior pro bono ducebatur.

<sup>3</sup> Duronius Tribunus pl. adversus legem de Summibus cohibendis concionatus est.

<sup>4</sup> Vell. P. ii. 3. Hoc initium in urbe Roma civilis sanguinis, gladiumque impunitatis fuit. Inde jus vi obrutum, potentiorque habitus prior.

<sup>5</sup> Plutarch. in Vit. Gracchorum, et Marii. Vell. P. ii. 6. 1.

denique, quod Saturninus ille,<sup>1</sup> tantorum reipublicæ malorum auctor, Marii primum fretus nomine, deinde suo, toties effecit. Illi vero, quo minus voti compos fieret, ne sacræ quidem leges, aut ipsum commune humanitatis jus, impedimento stetit.

Hujusmodi autem procellis succedebat plerumque desueta pax, et brevis inter ordines concordia. Sanguinem<sup>2</sup> effusum sanguine ipsi suo Tribuni expiabant; et respublica, diu agitata, in pristinum statum aliquando redibat. Tum Patres Tribuni ipsi conciliare; imperium<sup>3</sup> iis paulisper concedere; et quos ipsi paullo ante ablegaverant, in patriam postliminio restituere.<sup>3</sup> Ea vero quam brevis fuerit et incerta pax, satis testatur ejusdem rei toties iteratæ memoria; novæ identidem exortæ dissensiones; nova denique restituta tranquillitas.

Ad Syllana tandem tempora perventum est; ea nimirum, ubi id potissimum apud Romanos obtinuit, ut quidam homines, civium privatorum obscuritatem indignati, rem summam, vi tanquam armisque, caperent, ac tyrannidem, nullis conclusam limitibus, in cæteros exercerent. Tales quidem verisimile fuit jura omnia plebeiorum, ea præsertim, quæ suorum imperio obstiterant, imminuere aut abrogare velle; quorum quod maximum erat, Tribunicia scilicet potestas, ad fastigium jam pridem evecta, per Syllanam ambitionem restricta fuit,<sup>4</sup> et ad antiquam normam præcisa. Ea autem vis, modi certe et consilii expers, quo decresceret maturius, et mole rueret quasi sua, adjumento erat magnus ille et pæne inauditus Sulpicii furor;<sup>5</sup> adjumento, iniquissimæ istæ rogationes, contra fas et jus promulgatæ, et ipsorum civium emtæ sanguine, quibus omne reipublicæ imperium (tum quod in ipsa civitatis administratione, tum quod in legibus ferendis, et re judiciaria constiterit) in plebeiorum manibus collocatum fuit; adjumento denique; gladiatores isti stipendiarii, ad sexcentorum numerum expleti, qui ad ipsum senatum, amplissimum illum et sanctissimum ordinem, oppugnandum, noctes diesque in procinctu stabant.

<sup>1</sup> Plutarch. in Vit. Gracchorum, et Marii. Vell. P. ii. 6. 1.

<sup>2</sup> Ut Gracchi, Saturninus, Sulpicius etc. Plut. in Vit. Syllæ. Vell. P. i. ii. c. 19. Florus, lib. iii.

<sup>3</sup> Cic. pro Cluent. 35. Brut. 34. Vide etiam Vell. P. ii. 15. Flor. iii. 16. Val. Max. ii. 84. et v. 27. Cic. pro Sext. 16. Cic. post red. 4. et 15. Nunquam de P. Popillio, nunquam de Q. Metello, nunquam de C. Mario in Senatu mentio facta est. Tribunicis illi rogationibus sunt restituti.

<sup>4</sup> Dion. H. lib. v. Vell. P. ii. 30. et al.

<sup>5</sup> Plut. in Vit. Marii, et Syllæ. Vell. P. ii. 18.

Syllæ igitur, propter cætera ejus in rempublicam acta parum certe collaudando, gratias agit 'Tullius,' quod "Tribunis plebis, sua lege, injuriæ faciundæ potestatem ademerit, auxilii ferendi, reliquerit;" de Pompeio autem, quippe qui restituendam curaverit, idem tacere mavult, quam veram sententiam proferre.

Eam vero, quam coercita Tribunorum potestas reipublicæ intulerat pacem, soluta rursus dispulit. Possem sane, si modo circa hanc rem diutius commorari licuerit, prava singulorum Tribunorum facta etiamnum ex ordine reccusere; possem illos, auctore Rullo, de Lege Agraria<sup>2</sup> motus, illam Labieni in Rabirium<sup>3</sup> iram vituperare; possem Clodium<sup>4</sup> istum, acerrimum Tullii calumniatorem, famæque eundem, fortunarumque, et capitis insidiatorem, testem citare; possem denique in memoriam revocare, quas dissensiones Cæsar Pompeiusque, Tribunos sibi conciliando, Urbi comparaverint. Nempe quum omnia Romæ jamdudum venalia<sup>5</sup> fuerant, et "corrumpere tandem atque corrumpi seculum vocabatur," ecquid mali non augurari licet, siquidem altera reipublicæ pars ambitione summa, avaritia altera excitaretur? Parum enim, uti credere licet, valebant ea toties "de Ambitu" promulgatæ rogationes, ad pravos hominum affectus extinguendos, et rempublicam in pristinos mores de integro redigendam.

Tandem igitur ad id Tribuni pervenerunt, ut pro sua auctoritate nihil prorsus agerent, ad aliorum vero dignitatem augendam, "gratia<sup>6</sup> aut spe aut præmiis inducti," omnia temere et violenter susciperent. Verum enimvero, uti mos est, tantum, quantum sibi ipsis optimum ducebant, Tribunorum potestatem ad suorum partem conciliabant, Tribunos ipsos adulabantur, ambitiosi homines; parto, quod appeterent, præmio, eos, quorum opera paullo ante usi fuerant, protenus aspernabantur: immo etiam injuriis, quibus possent maximis, afficiebant. Ad Cæsarem tandem respiciamus, apud milites, se ipso auctore,<sup>7</sup> concionantem, et id Pompeio graviter objicientem, "quod dona omnia Tribunorum ademerit, quod intercessionem, superioribus annis restitutam, armis notaret, opprimeretque." Respiciamus

<sup>1</sup> De Legg. iii. 9.

<sup>2</sup> Cic. cont. Rullum.

<sup>3</sup> Cic. pro Rabirio. Dio Cass. lib. xxxvii. p. 41. (Ed. Hanov. 1606.)

<sup>4</sup> Cic. pro Domo sua, post Reditum, et al.

<sup>5</sup> Cic. pro Mil. 6. Reliqua auctoritas Senatus *emta intercessione* sublata est.

<sup>6</sup> Cic. pro Domo sua. Ii Tribuni præsertim reperientur, qui, spe largitionis oblata, etc. Veil. P. ii. 33. Manilius, Trib. pl. *semper venalis*.

<sup>7</sup> Fragm. Sallustii. Oratio Licinii ad plebem.

<sup>7</sup> De Bell. Civ. i. 7.

autem ad eundem, fugato hoste, re summa sibi comparata, Tribunus<sup>1</sup> hac ipsa potestate privantem, et Syllano exemplo, "imaginem apud eos, sine re relinquentem."<sup>2</sup>

Republica vero Imperatoribus tandem subjecta, id, quod per quingentos fere annos unicum plebis tutamen, et pignus steterat certissimum libertatis, "regni"<sup>3</sup> etiam "maximum" evasit "ad-jumentum." Singulari quadam prudentia, et ad animos plebis alliciendos apta, Tribuniciam potestatem,<sup>4</sup> sibi ipsis donatam, Imperatores ipsi retinuerunt. Quibus certe et decori erat jus illud sacrosanctum, et securitati: plebeios autem, vel nomen ejus, quod tali fuerant amplexi caritate, muneris, inani quadam voluptatis specie commovebat. Quod si Imperatores "Tribunicia potestatis consortione"<sup>5</sup> fruerentur, Tribunos ipsos "um-bram"<sup>6</sup> quidem, et "inhonoratum" fuisse "nomen," facile suspicabimur; ea vero, quæcunque fuerit, potestas, usque ad Constantini tempora perduravit, et una cum imperio translato, delectisque omnibus antiquioris ævi magistratibus, imminuta est omnino et ad nihilum redacta.

Jam vero, moribus Tribunorum et factis ab instituta potestate usque ad extinctam perspectis, positoque primum, quod nemo, ut opinor, inficias ibit, id ipsum jus, per se quidem, et certos intra fines coercitum, utile Romanis, ne dicam necessarium, fuisse; superest modo ut exquiramus, cur ex eadem prigrine longa injuriarum series et calamitatum in Romanas res profluxerit.

1. Id primo conquerendum est potius quam admirandum, quod hominibus tali ingenio præditis ea potestas plerumque contigerit. Difficillimum quidem est Tribunicium jus a Tribunis ipsis distinctum habere et segregatum; neque aliam plerumque ob causam, dum hos merito vituperaverunt, illud etiam pro malo quodam inveterato ac pæne conclamato tot tantique viri habuerunt. Ecquis profecto facinorosos homines, sui tantum boni studiosos, alieni oblitos, "non ut in republica Romana, sed ut in perdita domo, lingua criminibusque regnantes;"<sup>7</sup> ecquis, ut ad exempla recurramus, Icilios, Volerones, Sextios, Sulpicios denique, memoria tenens, ullam aliam de universo Tribunatu opinionem susciperet quam Ciceronianam illam, "pestiferam sane fuisse eam potestatem, quippe quæ in sedi-

<sup>1</sup> Suet. in Vit. Jul. Cæs. c. 79.

<sup>2</sup> Vell. p. 2. 30.

<sup>3</sup> Tac. Ann. iii. 33.

<sup>4</sup> Suet. in Vit. Octav. xxvii. Tib. 9. 15. et alibi.

<sup>5</sup> Vell. Pat. ii. 99.

<sup>6</sup> Plin. Ep. i. 23. Panegy. x. 95

<sup>7</sup> Liv. iii. 19.



tione, et ad seditionem, nata sit?"<sup>1</sup> Quod si prodeat tandem aliquis, verus quidem libertatis propugnator, et ad conciliandos potiusquam debellandos optimatum animos deditus; modestia idem, et prudentia in factis omnibus dictisque usus, nonne tali viro, quasi optimo patriæ amico, et optimum munus suscipienti, ex animo sumus gratulaturi? Neque vero perfectum quendam Tribuneum et a natura prorsus alienum nobismet ipsis effingimus; testem enim citemus licet Duilium illum, "plebi eundem et Patribus simul acceptissimum;"<sup>2</sup> qui, Tribunicia potestate post exactos Decemviros instaurata, salutare illud consilium interposuit, quo directam in duas partes civitatem restituit demum et confirmavit. His igitur præmissis, id, quod de parte quadam Tribunicii juris, ea vero minime contemnenda, affirmavit sagax ille et vere philosophicus Romanarum rerum indagator, ad universam potestatem proculdubio referendum videtur; *εἰ γὰρ δεῖ, αἰτ* Dionysius Halicarnassensis, *καὶ αὐτὸν ἐμὲ ἀποφθνασθαι περὶ τηλικούτων πραγμάτων γνῶμην, ἐμοὶ δοκεῖ τὸ μὲν ἔθος αὐτὸ κατ' ἑαυτὸ ἐξεταζόμενον, χρῆσιμον εἶναι, καὶ πολεῖ τῇ Ῥωμαίων ἀναγκαιοτάτον, κρείττον δὲ καὶ χειρόν γίνεσθαι παρὰ τοὺς τῶν δημαρχῶν τρόπους*—*δεῖ οὖν σκοπεῖν ὅπως ἄνδρες καλοὶ καὶ γαθοὶ γενήσονται τοῦ δήμου προσταταί, καὶ μὴ τοῖς τυχοῦσι τὰ μέγιστα εἰκὴ ἐπιτραπήσεται*.<sup>3</sup>

2. Veruntamen, cur difficili illo reipublicæ tempore maturius restituta fuerit tranquillitas, in causa erat non Duilii tantum, sed et Quinctii Capitolini<sup>4</sup> mite illud ac solers ingenium; viri quidem, cujus eximia in rempublicam collata beneficia Consulatum jam quartum insignem reddiderant; cujus moderationem, æquitatem, facilitatem, adeo est mirata plebs,<sup>5</sup> ut pæne etiam ipsius Tribunatus immemor fuisse aliquando videretur. Id enim, alteram malorum, quæ ex Tribunicia potestate oriebantur, causam fuisse et originem statuimus, quod Tribunorum aut plebis animos non modo non emolliebant plerumque Patres, verum etiam contumelias in eos,<sup>6</sup> quas possent maximas, superbe atque insolenter jactitabant. Neque aliam fere ob rem evenit, inter eos, qui civium saltem nomine, ne dicam mutuo quodam fœdere ac fiducia conjuncti erant, tantam et tam gravem conflata fuisse invidiam. Hinc eos, quos criminarentur Consules, Tribuni defendebant; hinc et inter Tribunos ipsos

<sup>1</sup> De Legg. iii. 8.    <sup>2</sup> Liv. iii. 64.    <sup>3</sup> Lib. vii. 65.    <sup>4</sup> Liv. iii. 66.

<sup>5</sup> Le peuple, charmé de la douceur de sa gouvernemens, sembloit avoir oublié qu'il y eut des Tribuns dans la république. Vertot, Rev. Rom.

<sup>6</sup> Ut Coriolanus, Appius, etc.

Consulesque exorta dissensio; adeo ut quæ tutamini iis data fuisset, quasi “mucronem in hostes sævissimum,” potestatem Tribuni exacerent.<sup>1</sup> Quid sane ineptius esse potuit, quam plebem,<sup>2</sup> non ut cives Romanos, penes quos legum ferendarum aut abrogandarum arbitrium fuit, sed ut externos quosdam, et meram quasi hominum colluviem, compellere? Quid imprudentius, et ad fidem publicam dirimendam aptius, quam fabulas de externa militia effingere, et hoc uno telo audaciam, quam ipsi pepererant, velle debellare? Quod si profecto nemini ignotum sit, stipendiarios milites minus quam voluntarios civitati proficere, at omnium certe ii,<sup>3</sup> qui necessitate quadam et minis coacti, vel opprobriis, tanquam aculeo, perciti, in pugnam eant, minime aut honori patriæ aut emolumento evasuri sunt. Longe aliam et prudentiorem de hac re opinionem suscepit egregius ille vir, quem Consulem nobismet ipsis pro exemplo proposuimus.<sup>4</sup> Is enim, repugnante etiam collega, et militiam gnauiter hortante, optimum illud de pace servanda consilium iniit, et sui ipsius jure auctoritatis, evicit. Postea vero, quum eidem visum fuit prælium cum hostibus committere,<sup>5</sup> quanta habitus fuerit alacritate delectus, quanto ardore pugnatum, nemo prorsus ignorat. Ex his liquido patet, reipublicæ administrationem melius Romanis cessuram fuisse, si aut Consulum aut Tribunorum animos prudentia quædam et moderatio temperasset.

3. Porro autem, ex ipsa civitatis constitutione et disciplina repetendæ sunt causæ, cur omnia apud Romanos seditiose ac turbulenter gesta fuerint. Optime proculdubio ad gloriam Romani nominis foras promovendam conduxit rerum domesti-

<sup>1</sup> Liv. iii. 9. *Hostes Patribus*, potiusquam Tribunos plebis.

<sup>2</sup> Dion. Hal. lib. ix. 44. ὁ μὲν οὖν Κοιντός, τὰ τ' ἄλλα ἐπιεικής ὡς ἀνὴρ, καὶ δῆμον αἰκνισσάμενος λόγῳ πιθανωτάτος, πρῶτος αἰτησάμενος τὸν λόγον, ἐκιδέξιν τινα καὶ κηχαρισμένην ἄπαισι διέξῃ διηγορίας—καὶ ἐι μὴδὲν ἐπὶ πολυπραγμονεῖν ὁ συνυπακούων αὐτοῦ (Appian sc.) προεῖλετο, συγγινούσας αὐτὸν ὁ δῆμος, ὡς οὐτε δίκαια, οὐτε ὅσια αἴων, ἔλυσεν τὸν νόμον· τὴν δ' ὑπ' ἐκείνου λόγον διελθόντος ὑπερῆφανον, καὶ βαρὺν ἀκουσθῆναι πεινῆσι, χυλίσκος εἰς ὄργην ἐγίνετο καὶ ἀμειλίχτος, καὶ εἰς ἱρὴν ἤλθεν, ὅσῃ οὐπω προῦσαν· οὐ γὰρ ὡς ἐλευθεροὶ τε καὶ πολῖταις ὁ ἀνὴρ διαλεγόμενος, οἱ τοῦ θείου τὸν νόμον ἡ λυσὶς κυριοὶ ἦσαν, ἀλλ' ὡς ἐν αἰτίμοις, ἡ ξήνοις, ἡ μὴ βίβαιως ἔχουσι τὴν ἐλευθερίαν ἐξουσιαζών, πικρὰς, καὶ ἀνυπομονήτους ἐποίησεν κατηγορίας. κ. τ. λ. Vide reliq. Orat.

<sup>3</sup> Vide Liv. iii. 11. Consules in conspectu eorum delectum habebant; eo decurrunt Tribuni, concionemque secum trahunt, et statim vis coorta. Cum his cf. Liv. iii. 16. Tum (Herdonio sc. Capitolium occupante) tantus furor Tribunos tenuit, ut non bellum, sed vanam imaginem belli, ad avertendos ab legis cura animos Capitolium insedissee contenderent.

<sup>4</sup> Dion. H. lib. ix.

<sup>5</sup> Cum his cf. Liv. ii. 59. ubi (conviciis ab Appio in plebem et milites conjectis) “non modo non vincere, sed vinci etiam, voluerunt Romani.”

carum administratio; eadem vero ad pacem apud cives sustinendam minus accommodata fuit. Primo enim satis constat, nullam civitatis formam intestinis dissensionibus magis esse obnoxiam, quam quæ in paucorum manibus aut nomine tantum, aut re ipsa ponatur. Nam si quispiam, sicut rex, dignitate cæteris et imperio longe antecellat, is certe ab invidiis, criminationibusque tutior regnabit. Quin et, rebus sub populari forma constitutis, æqualia omnibus sunt jura; æquales plerumque animi; neque ulla fere, aut odio, aut ambitioni, patet occasio. Romæ igitur tamdiu conticescebant plebei, quam aut regium nomen metuebant, aut ipsi regnabant. Reliquis fere temporibus, ne cognita quidem Romanis fuit ea, quam politici, ut aiunt, philosophi laudibus adeo justis extulerunt, mutua inter ordines in administranda civitate fiducia, et reipublicæ quasi partium apta inter se concordia. "Duas,"<sup>1</sup> enim, "ex una factas fuisse civitates," ipsi conquerebaptur Romani; quorum et sagaciores id perspectum habebant, dum scilicet Tribuni Consulesque ad se quisque omnia trahebant, "nihil relictum fuisse virium in medio."<sup>2</sup> Quam quidem morum ac pæne affectuum disjunctionem fovit potius, auxitque, quam sedavit Tribunorum potestas. Quum enim quisque Tribunus velut os plebis universæ, et ὄργανον quoddam ἔμψυχον extiterit, id, ad quod minime valuisset collecta hominum multitudo, sententiis, consiliisque parum sibi constans, duces eorum, ambitione summa concitati homines iidemque nullo pudore obstricti, melius plerumque effecerunt. Eam vero singularium partium concordiam ita constituet atque curabit prudens ille legumlator, ut "animatorum"<sup>3</sup> inde, potius quam "potestatum," oriatur similitudo; neque id unquam levis momenti æstimabit, ut sua quisque jura, suam auctoritatem, distinctam quodammodo habeat, et definitam. Ita enim Aristotelicum<sup>4</sup> illud optime servabit, neque variis tantum variorum hominum ingeniis, quantum unius prudentiæ, experiientiæ, æquitati, reipublicæ disciplinam tradet. Ita seditionibus illis gravissimis ac pæne diuturnis caruisset Roma; neque singulis licuisset hominibus, bene aut male moratis, salutem universorum pro sua cujusque voluntate, in discrimen adducere.

Quinimo id præsertim imperitiæ et rusticitatis <sup>cujusdam</sup> ~~cujusdam~~,

<sup>1</sup> Liv. ii. 44. iv. 4.

<sup>2</sup> Liv. ii. 57.—distractam laceratamque remp. magis, quorum in manu sit, quam ut incolumis sit, quæri.

<sup>3</sup> Legic. de. Agr. i. 6.C

<sup>4</sup> Rhet. lib. i. c. 1.

rerum Romanarum constitutionem arguit, quod, dum suis magistratibus potiebatur plebs, quorum muneris erat proprii et peculiaris, partem popularem agere, ipsi etiam infimi cives, comitia habere sua, leges perferre, antiquare, latas denique administrare, jam tum sinebantur. Quam ob rem evenit, eam civitatem quam toties decantaverunt philosophi,<sup>1</sup> quasi ad partes omulium æque modestæque librandas præ aliis accommodatam, re ipsa in plebeiorum manibus fuisse positam. Ili profecto, leges jubendi, administrationem exequendi, per Tribuniciam denique potestatem quos vellent in iudicium adducendi, ultimum et extremum jus, spreto Consulium ac Senatus imperio, jam inde ab antiquissimis temporibus et vindicabant sibi, et habebant.

Quæ quidem civitatis constitutio quam prava fuerit, et discordiis mutationibusque tanquam radicibus obnoxia, ostendit quum res ipsa, tum id etiam, quod exemplar<sup>2</sup> apud nos, plane perfectius, idem vero dissimile omnino, et tantum non oppositum, habemus. Quum enim apud Romanos omnia ad plebem, quasi caput reipublicæ et fontem, referenda essent; apud nos contra, uni et præpotenti domino, aut sancienti leges, aut vetandi, jus illud ultimum concéditur. Ei vero, quo minus potestatem temere unquam aut inconsulto exerceat, obstat illa civitatis partium, ut Græci dicunt, ἀπορία, quam antiqui legumlatores exoptabant<sup>3</sup> potius atque admirabantur, quam animis concipere, nedum assequi, poterant. Nobis certe, quam Romanis, et stabilior contigit libertas, et certior domi tranquillitas; foras vero iidem triumphos pæne inauditos adepti sumus; quin et regiones, ne notas quidem antiquioribus, imperio et ditione amplectimur. Ita plerumque fit, ut lucrum pariter atque honorem nobis afferant investigatæ veterum res; quoque singulas civitates impensius perscrutamur, et quicquid aut boni aut mali cuique contigerit, accuratius dijudicamus, eo nostram hanc patriam majori laude diguamur, et nos, feliciori sub Sole, et auspiciis melioribus, natos, grato animo et pio confitemur.

FREDERICUS OAKELEY,  
EX ÆDE CHRISTI.

<sup>1</sup> Vide Polybium, lib. vi. et al.

<sup>2</sup> Vid. De Lolme.

<sup>3</sup> Tac. Ann. iv. 33. Nam cunctas nationes et urbes populis, aut primores, aut singuli regunt: delecta ex his et constituta reipublicæ forma laudari facilius quam evenire, vel si evenit, haud diuturna esse potest.

## OBSERVATIONS ON

*A Narrative of an Excursion to the Mountains of Piedmont, and Researches among the Waldenses, Protestant Inhabitants of the Cottian Alps; with Maps, Plates, and an Appendix containing copies of Ancient Manuscripts, &c.* By the REV. W. S. GILLY, M.A. Rector of N. Fambridge, Essex. London: Rivington, 1824. 4to. pp. 279. ccxxiv. & 8vo.

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No. II.—[Concluded from No. LXF.]

HAVING conducted the history to the year 1697, we should pause at this grand crisis, and make some necessary observations on it.

1. We Protestants, if we are Protestants, and understand the Protestant argument from prophecy, and are not led away by the religious indifference of the age, wearing the mask of charity, we, I say, stedfastly believe, that in the latter days, some should depart from the primitive faith by *the doctrine of the devil*, and should forbid to marry and command to abstain from meats. (Mede's Apostasy of the Latter Times, and Dr. H. More's Mystery of Iniquity, and Bishop Newton on the Prophecies.)

2. Every scholar may know, if he choose to know, and as easily as he finds Rome in a map, that the seventeenth chapter of Revelation pronounces Rome to be spiritual. Babylon, which "septem UNA sibi muro circumdedit arces;" not Rome pagan, but Rome at a time future, when the Apocalypse was dictated, i. e. after the sixth head had fallen by the sixth seal, the seventh by the fourth trumpet. Rome as contemporary with ten kings, and with the Latin Western Empire revived—Rome, as from the epoch of its division into ten kings it should continue, till these kings should consume her with fire, and the last vial amplified in chapters xvii. xviii. xix. swallow her up for ever.

This warning was sounded in 1688, in a tract entitled the Command of God to his people to come out of Babylon, before the vials of wrath should begin to be poured out in 1697, with a wisdom, simplicity and energy, never surpassed by man. See also Dr. Cressenir's works at the same time.

3. Romanists differ from Protestants in interpreting the prophecies, as Jurieu in 1687, most luminously stated, in *a single point*, on which all other points depend, which, if determined favorably to the Protestant interpretation, determines the papacy to be Antichrist, by the confession of the Papists themselves.

This simple question is, whether the prophets by *days*, mean *days* or *years*.

The original term in Daniel means either *days* or *years* indifferently. (Parkhurst.)

Now the Romanists themselves admit that the fourth beast of Dan. vii. is the Roman empire; and the last of the Roman empire to be identically the same as the last head of the beast slain and raised from the dead; as Antichrist opposed to Christ in Rev. xiii. 3. and xvii. 8; and further, they admit that the 42 months of Rev. xiii. 5. comprehend the prevalence of the said revived ghostly beast, which we consider as an *alter idem* seventh head. It follows, that they cannot consistently deny that these 42 months comprehend the duration of the prevalence of the revived Roman empire.

Let common sense then decide whether or no 42 *literal* months be sufficient to comprehend the duration of the modern Roman empire.

The only rejoinder which the Romanist can here make is, that the revived Roman empire, admitted by them to be Antichrist, is not yet arrived; but that the ancient Roman empire, which St. Paul in 2 Thess. ch. ii., declares to be, and they also admit to be the only obstacle to the times of Antichrist, still continues in the empire of Germany, the termination of which, they say, will be the epoch of the times of the Man of Sin.

We reply, that we do not deny that the fall of the German empire may be, and may in specimen have been so already, a further revelation of Antichrist in a more literal form, as well as with literal allotted times. But we assert that the Carlovigian or German empire, was not a continuation, but a revival, of the ancient *Latin* or Western empire, extinguished in the *fifth* century, according to all history, by the Northern hail. We assert, that from the year 476, at latest, to the beginning of the ninth century, there existed no Western empire at all. (Gibbon.) Consequently, we maintain, that the German empire is not a continuation, but a revival, of the old empire. And we appeal to every impartial judge, whether any person who had not a purpose to serve, would admit that the modern empire was rather a continuation, than a restoration or resurrection of the Latin empire of the Valentinians or Augustuli.

Such is the argument as stated in a most masterly manner by Peter Jurieu; and here we leave it to impartiality and good sense; the Word of prophecy, and the Spirit of God. But remember, reader, who hath said in respect to this question, "whoso hath an ear, let him hear."

4. We Protestants believed, in the 17th century, that the fall of the Old Western empire, the division of it into ten kingdoms, and the commencement of the prevalence of the papacy over the saints, were in conjunction the epoch of the times of the Man of Sin or *Antichrist*, and that without any interval whatever. 2 Thess. ii. 7. Rev. xvii. 12. Dan. vii. 21—26.

These times we have asserted to be either 1260 or 1242 years, accordingly as we suppose Daniel to have intended Julian or Chaldean years. Marshall and Fleming, and, we believe, Brightman, strongly contended for the Chaldean mode, and urged that St. John himself has resolved three years and a half into 1260 days, which allow only 360 days to a year. We are disposed to examine whether both modes of interpretation may not have a place.

Further, we find no Protestant authors, excepting Joseph Mede, and his followers, in the 17th century, and Bp. Hurd, in the 18th, that have not *evaded* these three combined characters of the commencement of the times of the *prevalence* of Antichrist; either by fixing that epoch *before* or *after* the year of the fall of the Western empire, the year of its division into ten kingdoms, and the year of its prevalence over the saints; for which year see Mede on 1 Tim. iv. We therefore adopt his epoch for the reasons given in his work on the Apostacy of the Latter Times, with the utmost satisfaction and confidence; though, at the same time, we believe that the Western empire had afterwards further degrees of extermination, from every one of which degrees, perhaps, for 500 years afterwards, those times may again repeatedly be dated; until from the last degree of its destruction, they close with the last degree of the extermination of the modern papal hierarchy. (Mede on the Babylonish Captivity, and Dr. H. More's Works. *Treatise on the Seven Vials.*)

5. We believe that during the said 1242 years, two candlesticks, or two visible churches, if seven candlesticks be seven churches, should bear witness against the revived heathenism of Rome in all its stages; and during that whole period wear sackcloth, i. e. be subject to persecution and affliction, like Elijah and the Baptist, at the same time that miraculous assistances should be afforded to them, as well as spiritual arms, compared to the fire which Elijah brought down from heaven; (Rev. xi.) that they should fulfil a ministry conformed to that of the two tribes, and to that of the Baptist, and to that of their Lord and Master, Jesus Christ; that they should in conformity be slain, rise from the dead, ascend to heaven, receive the unction of the

kingdom, and sit in judgment on the world, till all nations should repent or perish.

This dispensation seems to be contained in the tenth and eleventh chapters of the Apocalypse, *aliás* in the little open book, opposed to the sealed book, as the Gospel to the Law. We believe that the seventh trumpet bears analogy to the day of Pentecost; as also, conformably to the deliverance of Judah, that among the ten kingdoms of the Latin empire, there should be a tenth or tithe, as presignified in Isaiah vi. 13. Compare Rev. xiv. 4. for a similar type, plainly alluding to the day of first-fruits or Pentecost. This suffering dispensation and first-fruits of glory we believe to have been in fact accomplished in the two churches of the Waldenses and Albigenses, finally united under the Prince and Princess of Orange, and completed at latest in 1697 or 1715. (See Dr. Goodwin on Rev. xi. and Dr. Cressenir's Judgments on the Church of Rome.)

6. In surveying the consequences and result of that last tremendous explosion of papal intolerance, we observe, first, that a great portion of the persecuted became, in 1688, reanimated with the spirit of life; however, *afterwards*, many of them became fanatics; and having felt the horrors of persecution, effected a new æra in the Christian world, the æra of the Apocalyptic *Philadelphia*, the æra of political liberty and religious toleration and charity. Queen Mary was the principal instrument in this glorious work. Her services to our church have never been duly appreciated.

The solid, pious, and charitable works of her age have, however, in later times, been sometimes thrust out by mean controversial superficialities; and a very bad spirit has too often been the consequence. Abp. Tillotson and Bp. Burnett are specimens of enlarged minds, and examples of Philadelphian charity. See Burnett on 17th Article of the Church.

Since the year 1697, when infidelity and lawlessness, of which we have a remarkable sample in Bayle, urging the intolerance of the Church of Rome, as exhibited in the revocation of the Edict of Nantes, levelled its undistinguishing shafts against Christianity itself, and to effect its purpose, endeavoured to lower all religions to a level; some amongst ourselves have pushed the heavenly principle of toleration and charity into Laodicean Galilæism and indifference; while even spiritual, pious persons have thought that the virtue of charity cannot be carried into an extreme. (Mr. Samuel Johnson on the Prophecies.)

In respect to the majority of Protestants, who conformed to the Church of Rome in 1685, there is reason to believe that they did not in their hearts either admit the doctrines of Popery,



nor yet retain Protestantism; but renouncing all religion, they handed down from father to son a rancour and virulence against both the Roman religion and the royal family, which had forced them to conform, till at length they broke the yoke, and forced their persecutors to drink of human blood, which precisely a century before they had thirsted for. Many more refugees were, at the close of the 17th century, dispersed in all nations; for the particulars of which see the History of the Edict of Nantes. It would be interesting to us, especially, could we trace the descendants of those who came over to England, to their respective ancestors, who accompanied, or were received by the Prince of Orange, King William III. Some few of these, of whom we have heard, as Dr. Allix, Dr. Jortin, Daubuz, Mr. Faber, have continued in Britain the witness against Antichrist.

We subjoin some miscellaneous references to authors, whose writings bear on our question. 1. Eusebius on the Martyrs of Lyons. 2. Disputationum Roberti Bellarmini, tomus III. p. 704; where we may see the best mode, in which the most eminent Popish controversialist could interpret the prophecies, and which should by all means be read together with the contemporary *Centurs. Magds.* 3. Fox's Martyrology. 4. Clarke's Martyrology, p. 78. 5. Abp. Tillotson's Sermons relating to King William and Queen Mary. 6. *Historia Literaria*, and *Monthly Mercury*, for 1688 and 1697. 7. Mosheim by MacLaine, the seventh century, vol. IV. p. 406. 8. *New System of the Apocalypse*, by a refugee, 1688. 9. *Waple on the Revelation*, in which work we shall find genuine enlargement of mind, and Christian charity in perfection; see his notes on Rev. x. and xi. especially. 10. Poole and Burkitt, followers of Mede, and admirable commentators on the *Apocalypse*. 11. Bp. Hildesley's *Memoirs*. 12. Senek's *Sermons*. 13. The history of the Helvetic Confederacy. 14. Milner's *Eccles. Hist.*; his account of Claudius of Turin. 15. Fleming on the *Revelation*; a remarkable anecdote of the state of the Waldenses immediately before the Reformation. We have not met with it elsewhere. It shows the extreme depression of the Primitive Churches immediately before the Reformation, and reminds us of the days of Ahab, Jezebel, and Elijah, to which period of the Jewish history the commencement of the Reformation is compared in St. John's Epistle to the Church of Thyatira, which means the true Church in the age during which Rome should manifest herself as the whore of Babylon, Bel, or Baal. We believe the anecdote to have been obtained from some source, not generally known; for we have no where else lighted on it in ecclesiastical history. But Mr. Fleming was

a most learned man, and a wonderful expounder of prophecy ; in general agreeing with Bp. Newton, more than with any other commentator. We could wish that Bp. Hurd and Bp. Newton had been permitted to maintain the ascendancy among popular works on the prophecies, which they once possessed, and which they still deserve to retain. The former author displays the *principia* of this study, without a rival. The latter applies the prophecies truly, impressively, and modestly. Nothing worthy to be named in a day with either, according to our judgment, has since appeared in a popular form ; and so far as subsequent authors have attempted to improve on them, we think, they have most commonly deviated from truth.

Having now conducted the history of the two witnesses to the period to which the work of our author properly belongs, we observe,

That since the publication of the great work entitled, *Histoire de l'Edit de Nantes*, completed in 1695, we are not aware that any original information respecting the *Origines*, or previous History of the Waldenses and Albigenses has been made public.

Since that time, during the reign of Queen Anne, we believe, that fanaticism did really break out among many of the French Protestants. But we are not to judge of a whole by a part ; we could wish therefore for further information respecting those Churches of the South of France.

But in respect to the Vaudois, we feel that our author's work is of the greatest importance ; because the very circumstance that pure practical Christianity is still preserved in the valleys of Piedmont, is demonstration that the principles of the Rousseaus, the Voltaires, the Gibbons, which spread the pestilence from Geneva to Berne, have not penetrated to the wilderness of the Vaudois.

We would suggest that a work, entitled *Waldensin*, comprehending all the *original* information respecting the Waldenses and Albigenses, and tracing and restoring all such documents and testimonies to their first and proper authors in chronological order, is much wanted ; and is the very thing which we have been attempting to sketch, however defectively we have executed our intention. Some one, however, must make a beginning.

Our author has presented us with a lively description and beautiful plates of the wilderness, wherein our mother was nourished, from the face of the serpent, i. e. after heathenism had ceased to persecute her both by emperors and by northern heathen invaders, who drove her and other primitive churches (as the British Waldenses) into the deep vales of the mountains.

Here she was nourished, as Eve ejected from Paradise, as Israel prohibited from Canaan, in Goshen of Egypt :

Sub pedibus nebulae, et cœlo iuga juncta superne,

Hæc inter, Waldo Biblia sancta gerit. (Rev. xiv. 6, 7.)

Qualis Idumæus nimbo in culmine Moses.

Idola horrificum contremuere Deum.

Omnis Arabis omnes verterunt terga Latini,

Et tenebras nobis Lux rediviva fugat.

We would merely add, that we are living in a great crisis of the Protestant religion; and we would recommend to every Protestant to weigh well the charge of our Lord and Master to the Reformed Church of Thyatira, before it be too late; and to study as the best comment on it, the charge brought by Cœcolampadius, Bucer, and others, against the Waldenses in 1535, and that against our own Church by Abp. Usher, in 1600. (Abp. Usher's Life.)

\* \* Since this article was written, we have witnessed, with great satisfaction, the promotion of our author to a Prebend of Durham,—a just reward for his labors, his talents, his piety, and his amiable qualities.

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## NOTICE OF

*THE TYPOGRAPHICAL GAZETTEER, attempted by the REV. HENRY COTTON, D. C. L.*  
8vo. Oxford: 1825.

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THE plan pursued in this useful and entertaining volume will, perhaps, be best given in the author's own words, taken from his introduction (page xi.): "The manner of proceeding adopted in the following work is this: taking the Latin names of all cities, towns, villages, or monasteries, in which I had evidence that the art of printing had at any period been exercised, from the earliest appearance of the art down to the present day, I throw them into one general alphabet for the greater convenience of reference; merely distinguishing by capital letters, *honoris causa*, those places which nursed and cultivated its early efforts during the xvth century. The ancient name (or names, for it often happens that a town is variously designated) is immediately followed by the modern one, with a brief description of the place, and a concise notice of the introduction of typography into that particular spot;

to which not unfrequently is added the title of the earliest known book executed at that town, as well as the name of its first or most celebrated printer."

"Although conciseness has been generally my aim, forasmuch as the matters here treated of are not new to the world, yet it will be perceived that here and there the remarks are extended to greater length: this, however, I trust, may be pardoned on the ground of its rare occurrence, as being indulged in only on those articles to which an higher degree of interest appeared to attach; where the town under description chanced to be nearly connected with something remarkable as an epoch or feature of the art, with some important historical event, with some person of eminence, or celebrated production which has issued from within her bosom."

Agreeably with this plan, Dr. Cotton has given, under Mexico, some account of the first productions (in a literary way) of the New World; under Norwich, some early productions of the press of Anthony de Solempne, in the Dutch language, and existing in the library of Trinity College, Dublin, are noticed; and under *Salutiæ*, *Saluces*, or *Saluzzo*, an unknown edition of *Persius* is brought forward. It is, we suppose, in folio (for Dr. C. has not given the size): *impressus Salutiis arte et impensis Martini de Lavalle*, 1481.

At the end of "The Gazetteer" are two appendixes; the first, "an index of pseudonyms, disguised or fictitious places;" the other contains "an enumeration of the books printed on vellum, which are contained in the Bodleian library, arranged in the order of their dates." This list Dr. Cotton speaks of as being in a *skeleton* shape: we heartily wish he could have found time and opportunity for imparting to it some degree of *obesity*. It appears that the farce need not be "enacted" between the Bodleian and Corpus Christi Coll. library of Mahomet's coming to the mountain, or the mountain's coming to Mahomet, in the matter of the vellum Aldine Aristotle, as the case would be little mended. We quote Dr. Cotton's note on the 2d volume, which the Bodleian possesses: "In the library of New College is a complete copy of this edition, printed on vellum, consisting of six volumes. For many years bibliographers, even Van Praet, denied the existence of the *first* volume upon vellum. The library of Corpus Ch. College contains remarkably fine copies of vols. 2, 3, and 4, on vellum." We shall yet hope, notwithstanding all Hibernian obstacles, for a fuller account of these vellum heroes; and in concluding, will just state, that the date of Fust's Bible is inadvertently given 1562, instead of 1462.

## NOTICE OF

*THE SONGS OF GREECE, from the Romæic Text, Edited by M. C. FAURIEL, with additions. Translated into English verse by CHARLES BRINSLEY SHERIDAN. (The profits of this volume are given to the Society for the Promotion of Education in Greece.)* London: Longman and Co. 1825.

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THE Greek nation has now been engaged for more than five years in a struggle to shake off the tyranny of its ancient oppressors; a contest, of which we may say nearly in the words of Thucydides, that, making all reasonable allowance for the propensity of mankind to exaggerate the importance of contemporary events, it must still be considered as one of the most remarkable portions of modern history. That the over-sanguine expectations of their friends should have been disappointed, is not wonderful; but that the disastrous predictions of their enemies should have been so signally falsified as they have been, this is indeed extraordinary. The war of liberty has been waged without an ally; without assistance, except indeed such as, through the unskilful management of its contributors, has been productive more of harm than good; the countenance, the influence, and all but the open aid of some of the Christian powers have been employed on the side of their enemies; the combatants themselves, although united in hatred to the common enemy, have been more divided among themselves even than the honest account of Herodotus shows their forefathers to have been at the time of the invasion of Xerxes; yet, in spite of all these obstacles, they have in a great measure wrested from their tyrants the country of their ancestors, they have maintained it against successive inundations of barbarians,

— amidst all their sufferings, all the waste  
Of fire and sword remorselessly employed,  
Unconquer'd and unconquer'd still;

and are now maintaining it in the face of a new and more formidable enemy. It was not in human nature that such a spectacle should be regarded without sympathy and admiration by the 'people' of Europe. Accordingly, even in countries where the national opinion has no authorised means of making itself known, and where a short-sighted and unworthy policy has betrayed the government into measures hostile to the Greek

cause, a lively interest has been excited in the people at large, an interest originating, indeed, in man's natural love of liberty and hatred to oppressors; and which would be felt in some degree, even were the objects of it Copts or Armenians; but which is heightened in the present instance by a recollection of the ancient glory of the Greek nation, and of the extent to which their example, and the works of their writers, have been the means of obtaining for us those free institutions, and that intellectual enlargement, which we prize so dearly.

In our own country, as elsewhere, this state of the public mind has called forth a variety of literary efforts in aid of the Greek cause, in the shape of histories of the war, vindications of the Greeks, and elucidations of the national character and manners. Among others, the writer before us is already distinguished as a zealous advocate of the Greeks. His present publication, however, is calculated to serve their cause much more effectually than a professed argument in their behalf; for familiarity is a step to attachment, and we know no modern publication (excepting perhaps the tale of Anastasius) which familiarises us so effectually with the modern Greeks. It consists chiefly of translations of Greek songs, some of them altogether new, but the most part selected from M. Fauriel's late excellent publication, embracing the whole circuit of Grecian life, whether ordinary or heroic. They are divided into songs of the *Κλεφται* or independent Greeks—miscellaneous historical ballads—romantic tales—songs of domestic life—and sententious distichs; to which are subjoined a few translations from the more cultivated poetry of modern Greek literati, of comparatively little interest. The preface, among other interesting matter, contains some valuable information respecting the state of the Greek population previous to the revolution, and its triple division into those who, on the Mahometan conquest, submitted unconditionally to the invaders: those who, taking refuge in the mountains, and annoying the plains below by their incessant ravages, extorted from the Turks certain local privileges, and a comparative security in their possessions, under the title of *Ἀρματοῦλοι*,<sup>1</sup> or armed men: and those who, disdaining all compromise, maintained themselves in the wilderness, and to whom the name of *Κλεφται*, or robbers, originally given them by their enemies, and assumed by themselves as a title of distinction, properly appertains. Of the character and habits of

this latter class Mr. Sheridan has given an interesting account. He speaks of them in high terms, yet scarcely higher than many authenticated instances of their patriotic spirit and heroic endurance really warrant; and if he gives them credit for some virtues which, in their circumstances, might be less expected, courtesy to women, and mild treatment of captives, his panegyric accords, to the best of our remembrance, with the testimonies of the most informed travellers respecting these mountain warriors. His preface is somewhat rambling, and savours of the wild Irishman, but it breathes a generous spirit, and a manly sympathy with the friends of justice and liberty throughout the world.

Of the richness, variety, and natural beauty of the songs themselves, it is difficult to speak too highly. Were it only as a collection of truly original compositions, not produced by foreign grafting, but the native growth of the national mind, they would be valuable. They are the beginnings of a new poetic life, the forerunners of a second age of Grecian poetry; so at least we trust; and will stand in the same relation to its future luminaries, as the old English and Scottish ballads to Shakespeare, Spenser, and the author of *Waverley*. To the ancient minstrelsy of our own country, indeed, they bear very considerable resemblance, in their construction, in the energetic simplicity of their narration, in their pathetic and comic touches, and in the reckless and adventurous daring of the heroes (for a gallant Klepht makes no contemptible figure even by the side of a doughty knight of the middle ages); the differences are owing to the peculiar style of genius, indigenous in the respective nations, and to the manners and circumstances of the country. Thus in the songs before us there is much less coarseness, as regards the intercourse between the sexes, than in the border ballads collected by the great Scottish poet and antiquary. A spirit of religious enthusiasm, and hatred to the infidels, is likewise a distinguishing characteristic. In this respect, from the partial similarity of circumstances, we might expect to find a resemblance between the Greek songs, and the admirable Spanish ballads translated by Lockhart. But the Moors of Spain differed from the modern Turks, as an enlightened, a generous, and a tolerant enemy differs from a cruel and fanatical oppressor. Hence, with all that devotion to the ancient faith which characterises the Greek warriors, we find in the Spanish none of those resentful feelings which mingle with zeal in the persecuted. To the one, victory is simply the triumph of the cross over a valiant enemy; to the other, it is

an imperfect expiation for ages of insult to his religion, and cruelty towards its professors. But the minstrels of Greece have not been so fortunate in a translator as their brethren of Castile. We mean not to detract from Mr. Sheridan's merits : the faculty of rendering the productions of a rude people into the language of a refined one, without destroying their individuality, is so rare, and implies such imitative powers and such command of language, that the non-possession of it cannot be made matter of reproach. Wanting power to sustain the simplicity of his original, he has employed an artificial phraseology as a succedaneum ; but this was unavoidable, and this is all that he has done ; he has impaired the original character of these compositions, but he has not attempted, as many might have done, to impose a new one on them, under the idea that he was making a good thing out of a bad one, when in reality he was only substituting an unnatural thing for a natural one. He has preserved enough of their spirit to render this one of the most interesting publications of modern times. It is indeed but one instance, among a thousand, of the tastelessness and servility of our self-styled enlightened public, that such publications, as the present, and Hurwitz's Hebrew Tales, should have dropped from the press almost unnoticed, while any spinner of flimsy and sentimental verse, any concoctor of meretricious tales, supported by the quackery of a hireling review, can command universal attention and interest.

The first class, or "*Songs of the Klephtai*," are full of interest, as recording the feats of those heroes, "who have for the last two centuries entered a practical and perpetual protest against the Mussulman's usurpation of their illustrious country ; and to whose efforts Greece mainly owes the wonderful success which has attended her first general stand against her oppressors." The most striking of these are, perhaps, "*Boukovalla*," "*Giphtaki*," "*The Hawk and the Eagle*," "*The Tomb of the Klepht*," "*The Death of Iotis*," "*The Mother of Kitzo*," "*Kaliakoudas*," and "*Skyllo demos*," which last, by the way, appears to be formed out of two independent compositions. For one of these only can we find room.

For streams the thirsty plain,  
The mountain longs for snow,  
The hawk for feather'd prey,  
The Turk for Christian woe.

"Where has she bent her steps,  
Giphtaki's anxiow mother,  
Who lost two hopeful sons,  
And, dearer still, her brother ?

Whom crazed with grief we see  
Still wander on and weep ?  
She is not in the mead,  
Nor on the breezy steep."

"She sought the goatherd's hut,  
Attracted by the sound,  
The joyous musketry,  
That echoed gaily round ;



Ah ! not for bridal feast,  
Or village dance, they fired ;  
She found Giplitaki there,  
Who had not yet expired .

The streams of ebbing life  
Well'd from his hand and knee :  
He totter'd, and he sunk,  
As falls the uprooted tree.  
True to his fame in death,  
He call'd some fancied friend .

' —Dear comrade ! wert thou here  
To see Giplitaki's end,  
Thou wouldst defend his corse,  
When struggling breath was fled ;  
Severing with friendly sword  
My miserable head !  
Now Yousseuf will inflict  
Unspeakable disgrace,  
And bear it to Ali,  
The torturer of my race " ' .

Or the " Historical Ballads," there are fewer remarkable for individual beauty, though all are pervaded by the same tone and spirit. Several relate to the glorious struggle of the Suliot with Ali Pacha, of which it may be truly said that, for a series of actions, as distinguished from an insulated battle or siege, never was such an aggregate of heroic achievement and endurance crowded within such puny limits of time and space. "The Captivity of Kiamul Bey," "The Enamor'd Chieftain," and "The Candiote Goatherd's Tale," are worthy of notice. The notes to this, as to the other classes, contain a good deal of information as to the manners of the Greeks, and the exploits and fate of their mountain heroes, Boukovallas, Skyllodemos, Niko-Tsaras, Katzautoni and his brother, Lambro Canziani, Marcos Botzares, &c. names to which Boileau himself would scarcely have denied the merit of being "*nés pour le vers*," and which, however strange to our ears, are to the Greek fraught with the same heart-stirring associations as those of well-skilled Bruce or Wallace wight, of William Tell or Andrew Hofer. We must, however, pass on to the " Romantic Ballads." The first of these is exceedingly beautiful, and translated in Mr. Sheridan's best manner.

Over a bridge went a desolate bride  
Singing so sadly, the arch open'd wide,  
And the stream listen'd and stopp'd on  
its way,  
Until its spirit rose dripping with spray .  
" Sing no more, lady, so thrilling an air,  
Sing something gayer, or sing no more  
there."

" How can I sing in a livelier tone,  
Leaving my husband, and wand'ring  
alone,  
Seeking through mountains and valleys,  
in vain,  
Simples to soothe the poor sufferer's  
pain?"

Where all is good, it is difficult to select. We would quote "Death and the Wrestler," but for the superior claims of "The Plague," in which the same allegorical personage is introduced, as also in the touching domestic ballad of "The Young Girl and Death." We wish that Mr. Sheridan had retained the "Charon" of the original, in spite of the fantastic effect produced here (as in Dante) by the appearance of this mythological personage in a Christian poem. Charon however,

in the modern Greek superstition, is as real a personage as the *Moïrai*. "The Guest's Departure," is pretty; and in the "Greek and the Janissary," the circumstance of the husband's slaying his wife in a moment of jealousy, and the next morning, in forgetfulness of what had past, summoning her with proud fondness to the village dance, of which she was wont to be the pride, would have been admired in a first-rate poet. "The Rape" resembles "young Lochinvar" as to its subject, but breathes a deeper passion. Nor ought we to pass unnoticed the waggish "Wish," the "Bride's Complaint," or the melancholy pathos of "The Moreot Mother," "The Banished Boy," and the others of the same class; or the gloomy sublimity of "The Plague." There is an appalling boldness in the picture of Death as a herdsman driving his charge before him, and carrying the younglings in his arms, as a shepherd his lambs. Nor can we avoid noticing the earthy palpability of the fiction, as shown in the question addressed to Death by his victims, and his reply; a palpability more in the spirit of the ancient mythology, than of the vague, shadowy allegories, of modern poetry. It reminds us of the *Nekuia* of Homer, or the Frogs of Aristophanes, or of the daring familiarities of Dante and Bunyan.

Our next extract, "The Marriage," is of a very different character. We give it in preference to another on a similar subject, "The Lovers," because the latter, although superior in merit, is rather too long for citation. "The Voice from the Tomb" is in the heroic spirit of the old Runic songs, and "The Night Journey" unites with domestic tenderness somewhat of the ghostly mystery of a Tale of Terror. "The Urn Crack'd," "Love's Tell-tales," the songs at p. 222 and 232, and "The Countersign," on the other hand, are marked by arch and sportive humor. We shall quote the second and third of these, the one being very short, and the other affording us an opportunity of subjoining, after Mr. Sheridan, the original Romaic.

When thou didst grant that kiss, my  
love!

It was the depth of night;  
Then who can e'er have seen and told  
So scandalous a sight?

The moon and stars alone were up,  
So only they could peep;  
And dost thou think a falling star  
Has told the noisy deep;

The deep an oar, the oar a youth,  
The enamor'd youth a maid?

Then trust thy lover's word at once,  
And be no more afraid.

Lady! thy son has caused our woe;  
Twenty-three maidens love him;  
Five are in rank as much below,  
As eighteen are above him.

So communing, we all agreed  
To buy a ring and staff;  
The gift to be a corporate deed,  
Lest older friends might laugh.

## 252 Notice of M. C. Fauriel's *Songs of Greece*.

He takes our gift; with dogs and snares  
Departs when morning dawns;  
Catches some partridges and hares,  
And then three beauteous fawns.

We guess for whom the first is meant;  
His sister, too, has one;

His mother got the third—he sent  
Our corporation none.

Now if the landlord is within,  
And dries with smiles our tears,  
His hair will not grow gray or thin  
Before an hundred years.<sup>1</sup>

Κυρά μου, τὸν νύκταν σου, κυρά, τὸν ἀκριβόν σου,  
Πέντε μικρὲς τὸν ἀγαποῦν, καὶ δεκοχτὼ μεγάλες·  
Καὶ μιὰ τῆς ἄλλης ἔλεγε, καὶ μιὰ τῆς ἄλλης λέγει·  
Ἐλᾶτε, κ' ἄς τὸν πάρωμε κομπὶ καὶ δακτυλίδι,  
τὸ δακτυλίδι νὰ φορῇ, καὶ τὸ κομπὶ νὰ παίξῃ.  
νὰ περπατεῖ, νὰ χαίρεται 'ς τοὺς κάμπους καβαλλάρης.  
'ς τοὺς κάμπους πιάνει τοὺς λαγούς, στὰ πλύγια τὰ περδίκισ,  
κ' αὐτοῦ 'ς τὰ στρεφολάγκαδα πιάνει τρι' ἀλαφομόσχια.  
τὸνα τὸ πᾶν τῆς μάννας του, τ' ἄλλο τῆς ἀδερφῆς του,  
τὸ τρίτον, τὸ καλλίτερον, γῆς ἀγαπητικῆς του.  
ἐδῶ ποῦ τραγουδήσαμεν, πέτρα νὰ μὴ ῥαγίσῃ,  
κ' ὁ οἰκοκύρης τοῦ σπητιοῦ χρόνους πολλοὺς νὰ ζήσῃ,  
νὰ ζήσῃ χρόνους ἑκατὸν, καὶ νὰ τοὺς ἀπεράσῃ,  
κ' ἀπὸ τοὺς ἑκατὸν κ' ἐμπρὸς, ν' ἀσπρίσῃ, νὰ γεράσῃ.

We shall add some of the best of the γνῶμαι or distichs. In the first we have altered a word, to preserve the point of the original.

Smiles, though, as sprung from gladness,  
They certainly are kin  
To tears, the babes of sadness,  
May wed without a sin.

The heart is question'd by the eyes;  
"O heart! what art thou brooding on?"  
"How blind ye are," the heart replies,  
"Not to have seen my friend is gone!"

The following thought is original and fine :

They say, "No more regard thy foes;  
Contempt affords relief."  
It ne'er occurs to souls like those,  
That scorn itself is grief.

Black eyes ought to seem  
Two bright cherries dropt in cream.

We would willingly add to our extracts the spirited epitaph on the truly illustrious Marcos Botzares, the Leonidas at once and Aristides of modern Greece: but we must conclude. Yet we cannot close these records of patriotism, of chivalrous valor and domestic affection, without one word, not indeed of surprise, but of indignation, that writers should have been found in this country to calumniate the Greek people, even in the

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<sup>1</sup> This latter should evidently have been expressed in the form of a wish. The song itself is one of a number of holiday carols, sung by children, and adapted, with variations of innocent flattery, to the circumstances of the particular families at whose doors they are chanted.

crisis of their heroic and *unaided* struggle for independence, as a mere mass of dishonesty and licentiousness—and that readers should be found to believe them !

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CAMBRIDGE TRIPOSES, FOR 1826.

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*Stat contra ratio, et secretam gannit in aurem,  
Ne liceat facere id, quod quis vitiabit agendo.* PERS. Sat. 5.

NIMIRUM veteres Alfredo rege Britannos,  
Quantum dissimiles hodierno tempore natis !—  
Credimus indoctos penitus vixisse, rudesque  
Artibus ingenuis ;—tunc sanc temporis omnem  
Scribendi populum pariter, pariterque legendi  
Insontem :—Mystas nescisse, ipsumque dynasten  
Expertem studiis solitum traducere vitam,—  
Rem præda parere, et crassis dispendere partam  
Contentum dapibus, belloque domique suorum  
Se præstare ducem, tineisque relinquere libros.

Talia dum priscis annalibus eruta mecum  
Haud dubius reputo, (quis enim diffidere tantis  
Testibus audebit ?) quæ gaudia pectore surgunt !  
Qua non voce libet patriæ gratari ipsi,  
Et mihi temporibus longe melioribus orto !  
O nos felices, O ter felicia nostri  
Sæcula, quæ solum nescire, et discere nolle  
Turpe putant ! Salve, post pessima tempora ferri,  
Altera, quæ fulges auro pretiosior, ætas.  
Jam non divino Sapiaientia lumine sedes  
Illustrat proprias tantum, notosque Penates  
Invida ;—nunc omnes trivias, omnesque tabernas  
Incolit, atque casas ;—hominum jam scilicet agmen  
Mercuriale juvat studiis incumbere ; agresti  
Duro nocturnis placet impallescere chartis.  
Mutantur studiis quæstus, crepidamque relinquit  
Heu ! frustra monitus sutor, setosæque barba  
Nequidquam tonsoris opem deposcit, at ille  
Sedulius egregiis festinat adesse magistris.  
Discipuli coeunt, genus admirabile, fabri,  
Fossore, lanii cum piscatoribus uncti,

Cerdone, lixæ, ne te morer, omne macellum.  
 Dissimilis quæstu, studio conjunctus eodem,  
 Quisque venit; sed tota uno velut ore caterva  
 Postulat institui, parilique cupidine flagrat.

Obvius ex turba quemdam fulgine nigrum  
 Forsitan astantem sectæ Coryphæus honestæ  
 Talibus aggreditur verbis;—"Vā'n' discere?—Vā'n' tu  
 Plus dominis sapere, et causas cognoscere rerum?  
 En! tibi naturæ secreta resolvimus, ipse  
 Et fratres: damus insignes, en! accipe, libros!  
 En! præceptores miros! Num scribere calles,  
 Num legere?" "Haud vero."—"Nil refert, me duce summas  
 Noscere litterulas ante ipsa elementa licebit,  
 Tanquam ungues digitosque tuos; quæ nempe labore  
 Assiduo quidam vitioso nomine docti  
 Acquirenda putant, brevior tibi semita præstat.  
 Da modo te totum mihi: per compendia fies,  
 Grammaticus, lector, juris legumque peritus,  
 Ut nemo, vates, geometres, omnia, quæ vis,  
 Spe lucri ductum noli me credere; namque,  
 Admoveas aurem propius, tibi comoda tanta  
 Constabunt nihilo."—Quis non promissa libenter  
 Talia captaret?—Quis non evadere doctus,  
 Præcipue propria nihil impendente crumena,  
 Vellet?—An expectas, ut non faber audiat illa  
 Argumenta, viro nullam poscente laborum  
 Mercedem?—Sane monitis liberrimus aurem  
 Præbet, et ingenti Sophiæ percussus amore,  
 Mercurio steriles commutat Apollinis aras.

Ecce autem tibi Crsipinus, mirabilis hujus  
 Ille gregis fautor, totusque effusus in iras  
 More suo sermone minaciter instat acerbo;—  
 "Tunc viros speras impune lacessere summos,  
 Et bene de patria meritos?—Tunc, improbe, pergis  
 Fallere callentem tanta farragine plebem?  
 Dogmata nostrorum rides incredulus?—Ævi  
 Præteriti sordes, tenebrasque reducere tentas,  
 O animi vere servilis?"—Non ego vero;  
 O bone, ne tantum savi; quin ecce libenter  
 Vestras suscipimus partes, vestrosque magistros.  
 Delicias hominum! Felices omni dextro  
 Pergite; magnanimis ausis Fortuna secundet!  
 Vosque etiam linguis animisque favete coloni;  
 Parcite jam vacuum manibus tractare ligouem;

Discite, vos fabri !—Quid enim ? Non ille theatri  
 Cecropii decus æternum, quem tota loquentem  
 Græcia mirari solita est, incude relictæ,  
 Ibat ad eximium turpis squallore magistrum ?  
 Principio parili contingat et exitus idem.

“ Aëra sublimi lustrò pede,” (Socratis hæc sunt  
 Suspensi cophino verba,) “ et mortalia temnens,  
 Contemplor solem.—Sensus tibi, more fariuæ,  
 Succernam ; subtile, et ab omni parte politum  
 Ingenium referes. Imprimis discere rhythmos,  
 An modulos mavis ?” “ Modulos ego,” rusticus inquit,  
 “ Nam vafer elusit pistor me nuper—” “ At illa  
 Mitte, precor. Tibi quis modulum gratissimus exstat,  
 Dic age ! Num trinis pedibus qui clauditur, an qui  
 Senis ?” “ Pace tua, bone vir, sextarius.”—“ At te  
 Dique Deæque omnes perdant, insulse !” “ Negasne ?—  
 Accipe jam pignus, nostrum quem diximus.” “ Hinc te  
 Ni rapis, insignes tergum dabit, improbe, pœnas.”

Atque etiam jam nunc dum talia ludimus, cheu !  
 Securi nimium fieri quas undique turbas  
 Aspicimus ! clamor quis tollitur ! O ego demens,  
 Et capitis crurumque oblitus, homunculus ausus  
 Tot caligas, tot contractos offendere pugnos.  
 Ut sim vitalis, metuo, ni protinus ore  
 Occluso, pedibus posthac confidere pergam.  
 Providus haud aliter miles discesserit, et queis  
 Obstaret frustra, fugiendo eluserit hostes.

*Miratur molem Æneas, magalia quondam ;  
 Miratur portas, strepitumque, et strata viarum.*

Si te, Plance, fori fecere negotia fessum,  
 Et libet urgentes paullum deponere curas ;  
 Dum fera tempestas tota bacchatur in Urbe,  
 Dum nihil est nisi rupta fides, et terror ubique,  
 Dum facies populi longa est, et ‘ Deficit ille,’  
 ‘ Deficit hic,’ rursus vicinia tota reclamat,—  
 Sis sapiens, nostramque urbem dignatus adire,  
 Otia tutus ama : nostris nam sæpe sub umbris,  
 Tranquillas inter sylvas et amœna fluentæ,  
 Sollicitam dulces frontem explicuere Camœrææ.

Quin novus hic rerum status, et mutata locorum  
 Invitat facies ; cernes ingentia passim  
 Atria, regalesque domos ad sidera molem  
 Erigere ; exuimus sordes, et tempore longo  
 Rubigo contracta fugit ; fervemus ubique,  
 Certatimque novo incipimus splendescere cultu.

Scilicet et tempus veniet, cum compita lustrans  
 Olim nota tibi, ignotas miraberis aedes  
 Surrexisse locis ; frustra magalia quæres,  
 Mole caduca sua, et primo sub Cæsare nata ;  
 Fallerisque vagans, et ubi sis sæpe rogabis,  
 Vicorum inflexu, et versarum errore viarum.

O quid non ætas, semperque volubile tempus  
 Provehit in melius ! non arcta palatia longum,  
 Stramincasque domos habitavit Romulus : arces  
 Marmoreæ cepere solum, et volventibus annis  
 Patriciæ septem crevere in collibus ædēs.  
 Et nos cœpit amare Deus, quicumque Deorum est  
 Oppida cui curæ in terris, nitidoque columnæ  
 Marmore candentes ; tota cernuntur in urbe  
 Plaustra, redemptores ; passim cæmienta, trabesque,  
 Artificesque operum, et gypsata corpora turbæ.  
 Ipse pater, multa labens cum pace per agros,  
 Camus, arundinco ripas dum præfluit alveo,  
 Anne pio moles, et fundamenta domorum  
 Devehit ; et viridi gaudet deponere in herba  
 Marmora, porticibusque trabes decora alta futuris.

Eia age, tu mecum spatiabere, et omnia circum  
 Visemus ; primum mirare, ubi candida vultu  
 Assurgit renovata ædes, et luce recenti  
 Fulgens, oppositas Catharinæ prospicit umbras.  
 Clarum opus ! et quisquam tam curto in tempore credat,  
 Hanc molem egregiam, et splendentes marmore turres,  
 Emoveisse situm veterem, et squalentia quondam  
 Atria ? nam magica quasi virga tacta, repente  
 Mutata est natura loci : pro sordibus ædes  
 Stant saxo nitidæ, stat frontis pura venustas  
 Marmoreæ, solidumque decus pro mole labanti.

Nec procul hinc Tauri domus, et notissima fama  
 Hospitii veteris sedes ; mox occidet, eheu !  
 Occidet, atque ibit quo Tullus dives et Ancus.  
 Et, modo Di faveant faciles,<sup>1</sup> queis cura domorum

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<sup>1</sup> Juvénal x. 7

Evertendarum, decedet et angulus ille,  
Qui nunc denormat vicum; tum plana patebunt  
Compita, quaque, vides, rhedarum transitus arcto  
Urgetur spatio, tum nil terrebit<sup>e</sup> euntes,  
Nec capiti mandram flectens auriga timebit.

O utinam Arabica Genius<sup>1</sup> de gente magorum,  
(Mystica quem lampas, dominusve in pensa vocaret  
Annulus) has secum tacita sub nocte revulsas  
Ferret, et in Libyæ campis deponeret ædes!  
Actum etenim nihil est, nisi clara in luce patentes  
Pieridum sedes, et amantes carmina turres,  
Aspicimus; sanctasque domos, ubi floret avito  
Læta sub hospitio, serosque fidelis in annos,  
Musa pio Henrici Manes veneratur amore.  
—Fiet et hoc quondam; et veluti post sæcula tellus  
Ostendit patefacta urbes, quas molibus olim  
Obruerat superinjectis; et reddita luci  
Apparent Divum delubra, et tecta virorum;  
Haud aliter, celata diu, regalia tandem  
Atria se pleno spectanda in lumine pendent;  
Et quoties curru invectus per strata viator  
Venerit huc, sylvas Academi invisere fervens,  
Sistet equos, fixusque obtutu hærebit in illo,  
Miratus turres, veterisque palatia Grantæ.

Plurima quæ laudes, quædam ridenda videbis,  
Et quæ Democriti pulmonem, credo, moverent,  
Si foret in terris; sunt qui simul omnia miscent,  
Gothica quæis facies Græcis adjuncta columnis  
Arridet; doctique modis confundere miris  
Terrarum simul atque ævi discrimina, certant  
Omnigenas gentes imitari et sæcula; dumque  
Contendunt modo nos Romæ, modo ponere Athenis,  
Orbis totius crescit pictura per urbem.

Ora linunt alii, et vetulæ de more puellæ,  
Antiquos renovant vultus; nitidumque colorem  
Inducunt, falsamque nova cum fronte juventam.

Linquamus tamen illa; dies non sufficit unus,  
Nec levis hic labor est, urbis spectacula magnæ  
Omnia perlustrare; age, dum Sol ardet in alto,  
Scandamus, sodes, collem qui proximus urbi

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<sup>1</sup> Vid. Noct. Arab.



Imminet: hic duri loca quondam conscia aratri  
Tempora mutarunt; hominumque boumque labores  
Emovit domus, et candentia marmore tecta.

Antistes stellarum illic, semotus ab urbe  
Fumosa, gaudet sublimi e vertice collis  
Cœlorum servare vices, Lunæque meatus,  
Longinquoque iterum redeuntem ex orbe cometen:  
Cui datur astrorum aërio modulamine serpens  
Exaudire melos; puroque sub ætheris axe  
Sideribus vacat, et carpit commercia cœli.

Felix ille virum, et felici sidere natus;  
O! quicumque paras taciturni ad flumina Cami  
Errare, et salices inter pallere quietas,  
Viribus, i, totis, furcaque expelle Camœnas;  
Teque ipsum doceas et somno et inertibus horis  
Posse carere diu: patuloque in corde Mathesin  
Accipiens dominam, semper sublimia cœtra,  
Cumque oleo consume oculos; sic itur ad astra.

Sed nunc, Plance, domum gressus revocare vagantes  
Expedit; cœlo jam Sol inclinat: eundem est;  
Audin' et optatam fessis quæ nuntiat horam,  
Tinnitu resonare docet campanula sylvas.

## E. H. BARKERI

### *DISSERTATIO de Pallene et Pellene: in qua et illustrantur et emendantur multi Scriptorum veterum Loca.*

“AD munuscula hieronicis ingesta, de quibus Casaub. ad Suet. Ner. 25., pertinet glossa Photii Lex. Ms. Πελληνικαὶ χλαῖναι διάφοροι, καὶ τοῖς νικήσασιν τὰ ἔρμαια ἐδίδοτο. Qui locus hanc etiam ob causam notandus est, quod firmat lectionem, inter *Ἐρμαια* et *Ἡρμα* fluctuantem, ap. Schol. Aristoph. *Ὀβν.* 1421.” [Μῶν εὐθὺ Πελλήνης πέτεσθαι διανοεῖ; Schol. Ἐπεὶ ἐν Πελλήνῃ ἐν τοῖς Ἡραίοις ἄθλον ἐτίθετο χλαῖνα. Χλαῖναι δὲ διαφέρουσιν ἐν Πελλήνῃ γίνονται οἱ δὲ, ὅτι Ἐρμαῖα, leg. Ἐρμαια, ἄγεται ἐν Πελλήνῃ τῆς Ἀχαΐας, καὶ τοῦτο ἑπαθλον τίθεται. Forte in Pellene, in ludis Junoni sacris, pariter atque in ludis Mercurio sacris, lænæ præmium athletic proponebatur.] “Pellenæ

celebrata esse "Ερμαια," [at non secundum omnes, sed quosdam tantum Auctores,] "certum est e Schol. Pind. 'O. 7, 156." [Αἰγίνα, Πελλάνα τε, νικῶν-Θ' ἐξάκῃς, sc. ἔγνω μιν, Schol. Τελεῖται δὲ ἐν μὲν Πελλήνῃ τῆς Ἀχαΐας ἀγῶν ὁ καλούμενος Θεοξένια, τινὲς δὲ καὶ τὰ Ἑρμαια, τὸ δὲ ἄθλόν ἐστι χλαῖνα, ἐν δ' Αἰγίνῃ τὰ Αἰάκεια :] "9, 147." [Καὶ ψυχρᾶν ὁπότ' εὐδία-Νὸν φάρμακον αὐρᾶν Πελλάνα φέρε, Schol. 'Ο δὲ ἀγῶν ἐν Πελλήνῃ Ἑρμαια ἐκαλεῖτο, ἄγεται δὲ Ἑρμοῦ καὶ Ἀπόλλωνος εὐρῆτῃ, Θεοξένια καλουμένη· εὐδιανὸν δὲ φάρμακον, ἀντὶ τοῦ ἀνάπαυσιν, τὴν ἀλεξάνεμον, ὅτι ἐν Πελλήνῃ χλαῖνα ἐδίδοτο τῷ νικῶντι χειμῶνος ὥρα.] Ruhnk. ad Timæi Lex. 216. Eust. ad Il. B. p. 291,44. Πελλήνῃ δὲ, πόλιν καὶ αὐτὴ Ἀχαΐας· ταύτης ἔθνηκον Πελληνεὺς καὶ Πελλήνιος.—"Ἔστι δὲ καὶ κώμη Πελλήνη, ὅθεν καὶ αἱ [adde, αἱ] Πελληνικαὶ χλαῖναι, ἃς ἐπαθλα ἐτίθεισαν ἐν τοῖς ἐκεῖ ἀγῶσιν, ὡς καὶ ὁ Κωμικὸς δηλοῖ ἐν Ὅρνισιν. Distinguit ergo Archiepiscopus ille Thessalonicensis, unus e Grammaticis veteribus, Pellenen Achaïæ urbem, a Pellene vico quodam, ubi lænæ præmium athletic proponēbatur, Strabonem secutus, cujus hæc sunt verba, 8. p. 560. Falc. "Ἔστι δὲ ἡ Πελλήνῃ στάδια ἐξήκοντα τῆς θαλάττης ὑπερκειμένη, φρούριον ἐρυμνόν." Ἔστι δὲ καὶ κώμη Πελλήνη, ὅθεν καὶ αἱ Πελληνικαὶ χλαῖναι, ἃς καὶ ἄθλα ἐτίθεισαν ἐν τοῖς ἀγῶσι, κεῖται δὲ μεταξὺ Αἰγαίων καὶ Πελλήνης. "Videtur duas Pellenes facere; sed adhibenda est Pausaniæ descriptio, quæ locum interpretabitur, 7, 20. Πελληνεῦσι δὲ ἡ πόλις ἐστὶν ἐπὶ λόφου κατὰ ἄκρην τὴν κορυφὴν ἐς ὅξυ ἀνεστηκότος· ταῦτο μὲν δὴ ἀπότομον, καὶ δι' αὐτό ἐστιν ἀοίκητον· τῷ δὲ χῆμαλωτῆρι πεπόλισται σφισιν οὐ συνεχὴς ἡ πόλις· ἐς δὲ μοίρας νενεμημένη δύο ὑπὸ τῆς ἄκρας μεταξὺ ἀνεχούσης." Casaub. Sed viderint rei geographica periti, an huc trahi possint Pausaniæ verba. Mihi saltem, si quid aliud, certissimum videtur Strabonem non de altera Pellenes urbis parte loqui, sed de vico quodam Pellene dicto μεταξὺ Αἰγαίων καὶ Πελλήνης. Nam quamvis, Pausania teste, duabus Pellenes partibus clivus interjacuerit, una tamen eademque, ut ex eodem Auctore colligi potest, urbs fuit, uno eodemque nomine appellata, non hac parte urbs, illa autem vicus; at locus, ubi lænæ præmium athletic proponēbatur, Straboni atque, ex eo, Eustathio est vicus Pellene dictus inter urbem Pellenen et Ægas jacens.

Steph. B. Πελλήνῃ· πόλις Ἀχαΐας, λέγεται καὶ Πελλίνα, ὡς Μιτυλίνα, ὁ πολίτης, Πελληνεὺς, τὸ θηλυκὸν, Πελληνίς. Σημειωτέον δὲ, ὅτι Παλλήνῃ καὶ Πελλήνῃ ἐνὶ μόνῳ γράμματι διαφέρουσι. Καὶ ἡ μὲν Πελλήνῃ δύο μόνῃ ἐθνικὰ ἔχει, τὸ εἰς εὐς, τὸ διὰ τοῦ ιος· ἡ δὲ Παλλήνῃ διὰ τοῦ α, τέσσαρα, Παλληνεὺς, Παλλήνιος, Παλληναῖος, Παλληνίτης. "Schol. Apoll. Rh. 1, 177. Πελλήνης· ἡ Ἀχαϊκὴ Πελλήνῃ διὰ τοῦ ε, ἡ δὲ ἐτέρα, ἡ τῆς Ἀρκαδίας, διὰ τοῦ α γράφεται

Παλλήνη, Ἀχαιῖς, (Cod. Par. Ἀχαιῖς,) δὲ, μέρος τῆς Θεσσαλίας, ἧς ἡ Πελλήνη." [Miror virum doctum fugisse crassum Scholiastæ huius errorem, qui, notato inter Πελλήνην Ἀχαιῖκην et Παλλήνην τὴν Ἀρκαδίας discrimine, subiungit, Ἀχαιῖς δὲ, μέρος τῆς Θεσσαλίας, ἧς ἡ Πελλήνη, confundens, ut alii, Achaicam Pellenen cum Thessalica Pelinua, deinde Achaïam Peloponnesi cum Phthiotidis Achaia. Apollonius Rh. autem, ad quem interpretandum ista scripsit Schol., loquitur de Achaica Pellene: Ἀστέριος δὲ καὶ Ἀμφίων Ὑπερασίου υἱὲς Πελλήνης ἀφίκανον Ἀχαιῖδος, ἣν ποτε Πέλλης Πατροπάτωρ ἐπόλισεν ἐπ' ὄφρυσιν αἰγιαλοῖο. II. A. 573. Οἱ δ' Ὑπερησίην τε καὶ αἰπεινὴν Γονόεσσαν, Πελλήνην τ' εἶχον, ἧδ' Αἴγιον ἀμφινέμοντο. Pseudo-Did. Διαφέρει Πελλήνη Παλλήνης· Παλλήνη μὲν γὰρ πόλις Θράκης, Πελλήνη δὲ πολίχνιον τῆς Ἀχαιῖας, ἧ ἔστι Πελοπόννησος. Ubi Πελλήνη vocatur πολίχνιον, cum Pausaniæ, Straboni, Stephano B., Hesychio, Suidæ, Zonaræ, et alijs πόλις appelletur. Πολίχνιον quoque est Villeoisini Scholiastæ: Διαφέρει Πελλήνη Παλλήνης· Πελλήνη, (leg. Παλλήνη,) γὰρ δημόπολις, (forte leg. μητρόπολις,) Θράκης, Παλλήναι (leg. Παλλήνη,) δὲ, δῆμος τῆς Ἀττικῆς, Πελλήνη δὲ, πολίχνιον τῆς Ἀχαιῖας, ἧ ἔστι Πελοπόννησος. Apud Steph. B. vero est: Παλλήνη, δῆμος. Ἔστι δὲ καὶ δῆμος Ἀττικὸς τῆς Ἀντιοχίδος φυλῆς, οὕτω λεγόμενος, Παλλήνη, ὁ δημότης, Παλληνεύς. Ubi vide nott.] "Numquid leg. (in Steph. B.) Πελλήνα, ὡς Μυτιλήνα, ut Τρμίνη et Τρμίνα? Pindaro" [Il. cc. et in loco mox citando,] "Πελλάνα, Dorice," [et Aristoph. A. 995. Ὁρσὰ Λακεδαιμόνων πᾶα, καὶ τοὶ σύμμαχοι Ἀπαντες ἐστύκαντι, Πελλάνας δὲ δεῖ, Laconice, ubi Schol. Ὄνομα γυναικὸς ἐταίρας, ἣν γὰρ παρ' αὐτοῖς πόρνη Πελλήνη τοῦνομα· ἐπιθυμοῦσιν οὖν τῆς πόρνης, ἥγουν τῆς πόλεως Πελλήνης ἐπιθυμοῦσιν· ἀντεπιοῦντο γὰρ αὐτοῖς οἱ Λακῶνες.] "Quamvis Πελλάνα Laconicæ urbs ap. Paus. diversa sit ab hac, uti e Strab. quoque discimus 8. p. 386., quæ in confinijs Arcadiæ sita erat, Straboni autem dicitur τὰ Πελάνα. Eadem, ni fallor, quæ Παλλήνη Diodoro 15. p. 492. Schol. Apoll. Rh. I. c. et Plinio: Polybio 4. p. 344. Ἡ ἐν τῇ Τριπόλει προσαγορευομένη Πελλήνη, Pellene dicta in Tripoli." [Apud Xen. Ἑλλ. 7, §5, 9. 'intelligenda est Πελλήνη alia, obscurior illa et in Laconica sita, et Πελλάνα ἐν Τριπόλει dicta, quod demonstrarunt Palmer. *Exerc. in Auctt. Gr.* 76. et pene justo prolixius Morus in *Examine quorundam Locorum* c. 9.: cf. Schneider.' Lex. Xen.] "Steph. B. Καὶ ἡ μὲν Πελλήνη δύο μόνα ἔθνη ἔχει, τὸ εἰς αὐτὴν, καὶ τὸ διὰ τοῦ ἰοῦ. Similiter Eust. (I. c.) Sed infra v. Ὀλλίνα scribitur Πελληναῖος, ut videtur; falsa igitur Grammatici nostri regula: Ὀλλίνα· πόλις πρὸς τῇ Κασπία θαλάσσῃ, τὸ ἔθνηκον, Ὀλλίνα· ὡς Πελληναῖος, τῆς Πελλήνης. Aldus, Ὀλλίνα, uno tantum λ," [et sic teste Berkelio ap. Ptol.] "An Παλληναῖος leg. aut Πε-

λινναῖος;" [Cod. Voss. ὡς Πελινναῖος τῆς Περίνης, quo duce totum locum sic refingendum censemus: "Ὠλινναῖ πόλις πρὸς τῇ Κασπίᾳ θαλάσῃ, τὸ ἐθνικὸν Ὠλινναῖος, ὡς Πελινναῖος, τῆς Περίνης. Ipse Steph. Πέλινα πόλις Θεσσαλίας ἐν τῇ Φθιώτιδι, κέκληται ἀπὸ Πελλίνου τοῦ Οἰχαλιέως" ἐστὶ δὲ καὶ Πελληναῖον, ὄρος Χίου, καὶ τὸ κτητικὸν, Πελληναῖος. Ubi idem mendum irrepsit, Πελληναῖον—Πελληναῖος, pro Πελινναῖον—Πελινναῖος, ut jam correxerunt VV. DD. De permutatione horum nominum vide omnino Palmer. et Wessel. ad Diod. S. 18, 11. item Salmas. ad Solin. 607. Tymnis *Epigr.* 1. Μίκκος ὁ Πελλαναῖος Ἐνυαλίου βαρὺν αὐλὸν Τόδ' ἐς Ἀθαναίας ἐκρέμασ' Ἰλιάδος, Τυρσηνὸν μελέδαμα. "A quibus hæc minutiae non negliguntur, μελέδαμα Doricum esse negabunt; corrigendum arbitror, κελάδημα. Crinag. *Epigr.* 10. Τυρσηνῆς κεκάδημα διαπρῦσιον σάλπιγγος, Πολλάκι Πισαίων στρῆνες ὑπὲρ πεδίων Φθεγξαμένης, ὁ πρὶν μὲν ἔχει χρόνος ἐν δυσὶ νίκαις." Valck. ad Adonias. p. 352. "Corruptum μελέδαμα conniventibus oculis præterit, recte a Salmasio emendatum, reponente μελέταμα, *instrumentum* quo inflando Tyrreni se exercuerunt. Tyrrenorum inventum *tuba*. Minus probabiliter Valck. κελάδημα reponit e Crinag. *Epigr.* 10., ubi diversa est phrasis." Brunck. Diversa quoque est phrasis in Nonni *Dionys.* p. 792. Καὶ Φρυγίοις αὐλοῖσιν ἐπέκτυπεν αὐλὸς Ἀθήνης, Καὶ διδυμον κελάδημα δόναξ ἐλίγαινε Ἀχαρνέος θλιβόμενος παλάμησιν. "Μελέδαμα, cura, et, e Poëtarum usu, id quod quis curat et exercet: hinc *tuba*, qua Tyrreni utuntur, μελέδαμα Τυρρηνὸν, i. e. Τυρρηνῶν, recte vocari potuit." Jacobs. ad *Anthol. Pal.* p. 157. At Valck. l. c. μελέδαμα Doricum esse negat: nullas tamen rationes ad probandam suam sententiam attulit, nec sane ex iis, quæ dixit vir doctus, intelligi potest, cur vocabulum κελάδημα, quod usurparunt Crinag. et Nonnus, magis Doricum sit, quam μελέδημα, quod in *Il.* ψ. 62. *Od.* Δ. 650. *O.* 8. *T.* 56. *ψ.* 343. reperitur. Archiæ *Epigr.* 4. Τρωάδι Παλλαναῖος ἀνέρτησεν Ἀθάνᾳ Αὐλὸν ἐριβρεμέταν Μίκκος Ἐνυαλίου, quod expressum est e Tymnis *Epigr.* "Sed Miccus iste, qui tubam suam in Iliadis Minervæ templo dedicavit, cujas fuit? Utrum Achæus e Peloponneso Pelleneus, an e Thracica Chersoneso Palleneus? Ego quidem Iliadi Minervæ propiorem atque omnino Pallenæum arbitror fuisse, scribendumque adeo in his *Epigrammatis Παλλαναῖος*, quod in postremo meus exhibet Cod. Vat. apographus: a Πελλήνῃ usitata forma gentilis erat Πελληνεύς, a Παλλήνῃ dicebatur et Παλληναῖος. Sed ex Achaia Pellenenses, ut a Liv. 32, 22. Πελληνεῖς, multo frequentius, quam Pallenæi Thraces, memorantur in historiâ." Valck. Etiam Pallenenses Thracicæ ap. Scriptt. vett. satis frequens est mentio, ut patet e locis supra laudatis

infraque laudandis. "In Archiæ *Epigr.* Codex habet Παλλα-  
ναῖος, at in Tymnis carmine Πελλαναῖος. Utrum ex altero emen-  
dandum sit, dicat qui Miccum hunc aliunde sibi notum sciverit,  
cujas fuerit, quod ego prorsus ignoro. Utroque in loco Παλ-  
λαναῖος scr. esset, si de gentilibus nominibus vera tradidisset  
Steph. B. in Πελλήνη, quem redarguit Holsten." Brunck. Imo  
vir doctus locum ap. Steph. B., in quo reperitur Πελλιναῖος,  
suspectum habet. Mihi saltem hand spernenda videtur ratio illa,  
Brunckio et Jacobsio prorsus neglecta, propter quam Valck.  
in Tymnis *Epigr.* Παλλαναῖος ex Archiæ *Epigr.* Cod. Vat.  
scribendum censeat:—"Ego quidem Miccum *Ἰκὰδι Μινερῶς*  
*propiore*, atque omnino Pallenæum arbitror fuisse." ] "Similiter  
Πελληνίταις legitur in v. Φενεὸς, nisi corruptus locus sit, quod  
suspicor: 'Ομορεῖ δὲ ἐκ τῶν πρὸς βορᾶν μερῶν τῇ Κλιτορίᾳ, ἐν δὲ τῷ  
πρὸς ἄρκτους Αἰγείροις καὶ Πεληνίταις, Ἀχαϊκαῖς πόλεσι. Cum  
Αἰγείροις sit ipsum nomen, non gentilitium, puto etiam h. l. leg.  
καὶ Πελλήνη, ταῖς Ἀχαϊκαῖς π. Idem notavit et Salmas.  
Πελληνικός etiam hinc deducitur, unde Πελληνικαὶ χλαῖναι,  
quæ corrupte Πελλικαὶ scribuntur ap. Hesych." [Etiam  
in Cod. Ven. teste Schowio, Πελλήνη πόλις ἐν Ἀργεῖ. Πε-  
λληνικαὶ χλαῖναι ἐπεὶ διαφέρειν ἐδόκουν αἱ ἐν Πελλήνῃ γινόμεναι,  
ὡς καὶ ἄλλα τοῖς νικῶσι δίδοσθαι. Ubi Verw. malit διδόμενα, sed  
vulgatam tuetur J. Poll. 7, 67. Αἱ δὲ Πελληνικαὶ χλαῖναι ἦσαν  
εὐδόκιμοι, ὡς καὶ τοῖς νικῶσιν ἀθληταῖς δίδοσθαι.] "Πελλήνιος, quod  
alterum e gentilibus ab Auctore expressis, occurrit ap. Harpocr.  
in Μαστῆρες, ubi citatur Ἀριστοτέλης ἐν τῇ Πελληνίῳ Πολιτείᾳ."

L. HOLSTEN.

Hujus Holstenianæ notæ immemor, "Πελλήνιος nusquam a  
se esse lectum," scripsit Valck. ad Adonias. p. 352. Apud Suid.  
etiam Πελλαναῖος χιτῶν legitur: Πελλήνη πόλις, καὶ Πελλαναῖος  
χιτῶν ἐπὶ τῶν παλαιὰ φορούντων ἱμάτια, ἐν δὲ Πελλήνῃ διάφοροι  
χλαῖναι ἐγίνοντο. Ἀριστοφάνης, (l. c.) Μῶν εὐθὺ Πελλήνης πέτεσθαι  
διανοεῖ; Ἐπεὶ ἐν Πελλήνῃ ἐν τοῖς Ἑραίοις ἄθλον ἐτίθεντο χλαῖναν.  
De Proverbio vide Erasm. *Adag.* 3, 3, 17. p. 692. ubi citatur  
Julius L. vii. de *Rerum Vocabulis*, sed unde citetur, nescio.  
Pro παλαιὰ Jacobs. ad *Anthol.* 8, 152. malit παχέα, idque  
omnino recte; Pind. N. 10, 82. Ἐκ δὲ Πελλάνας, ἐπισσάμενοι  
Νῶτον μαλακῶσι κρόκαις, ("Intus floccis lana instructa  
erant," Jacobs. l. c.) ubi Schol. Ἀντὶ τοῦ καὶ ἐν Πελλήνῃ ἐνίκησε,  
πῶται δὲ παχέα ἱμάτια ἐν Πελλήνῃ ἀγναφα, δυσχείμεροι δὲ οἱ  
τόποι περιφραστικῶς δὲ τὴν χλαμίδα (leg. χλανίδα,) μαλακὴν κρόκην  
εἶπε, καὶ ἐτέρωθι ψυχράν ὅποτε εὐδιανὸν φάρμακον αὖραν Πελλάνα  
παρέχει. (Egregie nugatur Schol. memoriter citans locum, qui  
sic legitur Ὁ. 1, 146. Καὶ ψυχρᾶν ὅπὸτ' εὐδία-Νὸν φάρμακον αὖρᾶν

Πελλάνα φέρε.) Ὁ δὲ ἀγὼν Διὸς, καλεῖται δὲ Δίῃα. \*Η οὕτως ἐκ τῆς Πελλήνης δὲ τὰ Θεοξένια νικῶντες, χλανίσιν ἐπιτηδιοτάτοις κοσμηθέντες κ. τ. λ. Alibi idem Schol. scripsit τὸν ἀγῶνα fuisse Apollinis et Mercurii, e quorundam autem sententia, Mercurii unius, τὰ Ἑρμαῖα, at hic Jovis esse ludos asserit, τὰ Δίῃα. Schol. Aristoph., ut supra vidimus, Junoni, ἐν τοῖς Ἑρμαῖοις, eos ipse tribuit, sed addit, secundum quosdam, τὰ Ἑρμαῖα ἄγεται ἐν Πελλήνῃ τῆς Ἀχαΐας. Ruhnk. l. c. suspicari videtur, Schol. hæc tradidisse vitioso Cōdice deceptum, in quo voces Ἑρμαῖοις et Ἑρμαῖοις confusæ essent. Sed satis patet e locis supra citatis, multos ludos in Pellene olim celebrari solitos esse, quorum alius Junoni, alius Jovi, alius Apollini, alius Mercurio sacer fuerit. Alii ludī ibi sub nomine Theoxenicorum celebrabantur. "Idem Θεοξένια et Ἑρμαῖα, sed v. omnino Meurs. Gr. Fer. 3. p. 114. In Posidippi Epigr. (ap. Athen. 414. e.) notandum illud, Χλαίνης ἐν τρύχει Πελληνίδος, (lucero panno pinnulæ Pellenicæ.) Nonn. Dionys. 37. p. 926. Εἰ πέλεν εὐώδινος Ἀχαΐδος ἀστὸς ἀρούρης, Πελλήνην δεδάχευ, ὅπῃ ῥιγελὸν ἀγῶνα Ἄνδρες ἀεθλεύουσι φιλοχλαίνου περὶ νίκης, Χειμερίῳ σφίγγοντες ἀθαλπέα γυῖα χιτῶνι." Toup. Emendd. in Suid. 2, 586. In Schol. ad Demosth. 127. nomen Πελληναίων in Πελληνέων mutaret Valck. l. c. Sed, cum in Suida extet Πελληναῖος χιτῶν, vulgatum habet quo se tucatur. Zonar. Πελλήνη πόλις: ubi D. K. habet Πελήνη. Sic ap. Xen. K. Ἀ. 5, 2, 12. scribi Φιλόξενος Πεληνεὺς, sed perperam scribi, notarunt Valck. l. c. et Sturz. Lex. Xen. In Orph. Argon. 156. \*Εν δὲ Περικλύμενος Νηληΐος εἰσαφίκανε, Ἀγχόθι Παλλήνης τε καὶ εὐύδροιο Λιπάξου Ἄστου λιπὼν ἀφνειὸν, ἐλειονόμους τε Κολῶνας, vulgo legitur Πελλήνης, sed perperam. Vide Steph. B. in Παλλήνη, Herod. 7, 123. Apoll. Rh. 1, 599. Idem dicendum est de ejusdem Orphēi Argon. 466. Οὐλύμπου δὲ βαθυσκοπέλου πρῆῳνας ἐρυμνὸς Εἰσέδρακον Μινύαι, καὶ Ἄθω δενδράδεα κάμψαν, Παλλήνην τ' εὐρεῖαν, ἰδὲ ζαθέην Σαμοθρήκην: ubi vulg. Πελλήνην correxit Holsten.

Nemo autem, qui secum reputaverit in quot et quantos geographicos errores inciderint ipsi veteres Auctores, Scholiastæque, et Librarii, atque ex iis hodierni Critici, uominum horum similitudine decepti, nostram de his rebus prolixitatem magnopere culpabit.

E. H. BARKER.

Thetfordiæ, Feb. xiii.

A. D. 1826.

## BIBLICAL CRITICISM

*On the First and Second Chapters of St. Matthew ; comprising a view of the leading Arguments in favor of their Authenticity, and of the principal Objections which have been urged on the subject. By LATHAM WAINEWRIGHT, M. A. F. S. A. of Emman. Coll. Cambridge, and Rector of Gt. Brickhill, Bucks, &c.*

No. VII.—[Concluded from No. LXV.]

THE quotation almost immediately following, in the eighteenth verse, has been deemed still more liable to the attacks of criticism, but which has fortunately been exercised with as little success in this as in the preceding cases. “Then was fulfilled that which was spoken by Jeremy the prophet, saying, ‘In Ramah was there a voice heard, lamentation, and weeping, and great mourning, Rachel weeping for her children, and would not be comforted, because they are not.’” That the prophet meant to apply this prediction, in the first instance, to the Babylonish captivity, will not admit of the slightest doubt; but in addition to this, it is contended by many, that in its *secondary* meaning, he designed to prefigure the massacre of the infants at Bethlehem. That Ramah and Bethlehem were at too great a distance from each other to allow of this double interpretation, and that the expression, *because they are not*, cannot have the same signification in both cases, are circumstances which have been advanced as serious objections. It is stated in reply, that it ought to be recollected that Herod’s

‘The words as they stand in Jeremiah xxxi. 15. are these:—

Hebrew.

קול ברמה נשמע נהי בבי תמורות רחל מבכה על בניה מאנה  
להנחם על בניה כי איננו :

Septuagint.

Φωνὴ ἐν Ῥαμὰ ἠκούσθη θρήνου, καὶ κλαυθμοῦ, καὶ ἔδρυμαυ, Ῥαχὴλ ἀποκλαυσιμένης ἐπὶ τῶν υἱῶν αὐτῆς, καὶ οὐκ ἔβριεν παρακληθῆναι, ὅτι οὐκ εἰσιν. Alex. MS.

St. Matthew, ii. 18.

Φωνὴ ἐν Ῥαμὰ ἠκούσθη, θρήνος, καὶ κλαυθμὸς καὶ ἔδρυμας πολλός, Ῥαχὴλ κλαύουσα τὰ τέκνα αὐτῆς, καὶ οὐκ ἔβριεν παρακληθῆναι, ὅτι οὐκ εἰσιν.

The reading of the Septuagint, in the editions of Bos and Grabe, is nearer to the Hebrew than that quoted above, but varies more from St. Matthew.

mandate was not confined in its effect to Bethlehem, but extended to *all the coasts round about*; and the voice of Rachel therefore may well be described as heard in Ramah, which was situated in the tribe of Benjamin. With respect to the expression (כי איננו) *because they are not*, it may surely be regarded at least as applicable to the infants as to the captives: nor is there any inconsistency in believing, that the lamentation, which was at first uttered for the captivity of an impious people, should afterwards be repeated for the slaughter of innocent children.

Some few writers have adopted another explication. Instead of rendering the Hebrew word (רמיה) as it stands in the majority of versions, in *Ramah*, they derive it from a different root, (רומ) *altum esse*, and consider it as denoting *on high*.<sup>1</sup>

But the light in which this citation is regarded by most of our best commentators, is that of an accommodation. In the original prophecy, Rachel, whom every Jew would naturally consider as the pattern of affection, is represented as personally appearing, and expressing all the emotions of ardent grief for the fate of those who were destined to be led captive to Babylon by their Assyrian conquerors. St. Matthew, therefore, here borrows the language of the prophet, and adapts it to his description of a deed of cruelty, still more calculated to excite lamentation and sorrow.

A charge, however, of a more serious nature has been brought forward against this part of the chapter before us; and because the massacre of the infants at Bethlehem has been passed over in silence by Josephus and other contemporary authors, the fact itself has been boldly denied, and the veracity of the sacred historian attempted to be destroyed. But arguments deduced from omissions of this description, when unsupported by stronger evidence, are, to say the least, very inconclusive; and in the present case they are clearly of no avail, since the conduct of the writers in question may be sufficiently accounted for. In the first place, respecting the silence of Josephus, it is well known that this historian derived the greatest part of his account of the actions of Herod from Nicolaus of Damascus, who was notoriously biassed by his partiality towards that prince, and had consequently taken no notice of many of his cruelties

<sup>1</sup> Among those who have given the preference to this mode of explaining the passage, we may name Arias Montanus, the learned Spaniard, whose Polyglot Bible was published under the patronage of Philip II.



recorded by others. An additional motive must have operated on the mind of Josephus in making this omission, and which at once sufficiently accounts for the fact. Agrippa the younger, the lineal descendant of Herod, was living at the time when the historian wrote, and as it appears had conferred obligations on him. He was aware likewise that his mention of this fact would lead to an inference not a little favorable to the Christian cause: and it is certainly remarkable that the same author has related very few of the crimes of Pontius Pilate, upon which Philo, his contemporary, has dwelt with so much severity.

In the next place, the silence of the writers of Greece and Rome on this point will not excite our surprise, when we call to mind the vast extent of the Roman empire, and the improbability that an event totally unconnected with the scene of politics, and transacted in a distant and an obscure province, should engage the attention of men occupied in the pursuit of literary fame. That it did not altogether pass unnoticed appears from a saying of Augustus, related in the *Saturnalia* of Macrobius, who lived in the latter end of the fourth century, in the reign of Theodosius II: "Cum audisset inter pueros, quos in Syria Herodes, Rex Judæorum, intra bimatum jussit interfici, filium quoque ejus occisum, ait; *Melius est Herodis porcum (ἄν) esse quam filium (υἱόν).*" (*Saturnal. lib. ii. c. 4.*)<sup>1</sup>

The last passage in the second chapter, which has excited the objection of our opponents; occurs in the 23d verse: "And he came and dwelt in a city called Nazareth; that it might be fulfilled which was spoken by the prophets, He shall be called a Nazarene." It is here asked—in which of the prophets are these words to be found? Ποῦ γέγραπται; as St. Chrysostom inquires of a citation in the Epistles. Is it not notorious that their existence cannot be traced in any of the writings of the Old Testament, from Genesis to Malachi? To these questions different satisfactory answers have been given by different divines.

Dr. Owen and Bishop Pearce refer the quotation to the 5th verse of the thirteenth chapter of Judges, where we find these words:—"The child shall be a Nazarite unto God." And they here consider Samson, to whom the passage immediately

<sup>1</sup> The question relative to the silence of Josephus has been elaborately examined by Lardner, in his *Credibility*, vol. 1. See also Bishop Pearce's Comment, and Archbishop Newcome, in loc.

applies, and who was born to be a deliverer, as the type of Christ. But without having recourse to types, the best explanation appears to be that which has been ably supported by Dr. Hunt, Regius Professor of Hebrew at Oxford,<sup>1</sup> and other critics of learning and talents. In their opinion the words of the Evangelist are not to be considered as a literal quotation, nor as referring to any particular passage of *one* of the prophets, but are to be regarded as conveying the general sentiment of all the prophets concerning the character and condition of the promised Messiah. It was even the remark of Jerome, that the use of the plural, τῶν προφητῶν, is sufficient to indicate, that no individual prophet was here intended to be designated; and with regard to the expression κληθήσεται, *he shall be called a Nazarene*, it has been shown, by Bishop Pearce and other critics, to denote nothing more, according to the usage both of sacred and profane writers, than *he will be a Nazarene*. This latter appellation, in the time of the apostles, not only signified an inhabitant of Nazareth, but was used as a general term of reproach and applied to impostors, and other persons regarded with contempt. That our Lord would meet with persecution and insult, that he would be numbered among the transgressors, and would be "despised and rejected of men," are circumstances explicitly foretold by the prophetic writers: and how strikingly these predictions were accomplished, both from his making his abode in a city so hateful to the Jews as Nazareth, and from the treatment he experienced from the world, is but too clearly proved by the history of his life, sufferings, and death.<sup>2</sup>

<sup>1</sup> See Dr. Hunt's Sermon on these words, preached before the University of Oxford, and printed at the end of his *Observations on the Book of Proverbs*, 1775.

● There yet remains another objection on which peculiar stress is laid by the Unitarians of the *present day*. It is boldly affirmed by the editors of the *Improved Version*, as it is called, of the New Testament, that if St. Luke's account be true, that Christ was thirty years old in the fifteenth year of the reign of Tiberius, Herod must have been dead at least two years before the birth of our Lord. Respecting this apparent difficulty so unfairly magnified by Unitarian writers, we must observe, that, in determining the fifteenth year of Tiberius's reign, there are two modes of computation, each of which has been attributed to St. Luke. Supposing the beginning of that emperor's reign to be dated from the death of Augustus, which took place in August A. U. 767, then the fifteenth year of Tiberius's reign would be A. U. 781; and our Lord, if born A. U. 748. or according to others 749, would be thirty-three or thirty-two years of age, which may be considered as within the latitude

Such then are the objections which have been urged with so much confidence against the authority of the commencing chapters of our first gospel, and such are the satisfactory replies which they have received from the learned advocates of genuine Christianity. But before I quit this part of the subject, there is one remark which particularly claims the attention of the reader; and that is, that the argument derived by our adversaries from the variation which subsists between the *quotations* of the Evangelist on the one hand, and the original Hebrew, or the Septuagint version, on the other hand, is not confined to the first and second chapters of St. Matthew, but might be applied with equal force to other portions of the New Testament, which are acknowledged to be indisputably authentic by every class and denomination of Christians. To verify this observation, it will be sufficient to select merely one or two examples, out of many which the sacred writings offer to our notice.

An instance in point occurs in the 28th verse of the 19th chapter of St. John's gospel;—"After this, Jesus knowing

allowed by St. Luke's expression of "*about (ὡς)* thirty years of age." But, on the other hand, if the beginning of Tiberius's reign be computed from the time of his being associated with Augustus in the imperial government, (a mode which has been adopted in other instances) the discrepancy will be removed without any difficulty. This admission of Tiberius into a share of the government is to be dated, according to Velleius Paterculus, A. U. 764, or according to Suetonius, A. U. 765. Now taking the first of these dates, if our Lord was born in A. U. 748, then, in the fifteenth year of Tiberius's reign, he would be thirty years old. Taking the second date, (that of Suetonius,) then if our Saviour was born in the autumn A. U. 748, he would, in the fifteenth year of the same reign, be thirty-one years old; or if born in the autumn of the year following, 749, he would then be only *thirty years* of age. The generality of writers now agree with Lardner, that Herod died about seventeen, or possibly sixteen years, before Augustus, that is, a little before the pass-over A. U. 750 or 751; and hence, if the last mode of computing the reign of Tiberius be received, Herod must have died *about a year and a half* before the birth of Christ. As a striking confirmation of the fact that St. Luke followed this method, it should be stated, that on no other supposition can this Evangelist's account be made to coincide with the date assigned to the crucifixion by all the early Christian writers.

Where different dates present themselves of nearly equal authority, not only are we at liberty, but it is incumbent on us, to select those by which the clashing circumstances attending any event can best be made to harmonize with each other. See Macknight's *Harmony of the Gospels*, part. 2 and 3. and Bishop Pearce's *Dissert.* prefixed to his *Commentary*.

that all things were now accomplished, that the *Scripture might be fulfilled*, saith, I thirst."<sup>1</sup> Now it is remarkable that, in the whole compass of the Scriptures of the Old Testament, no such words are to be found as applicable to the conduct of Christ. The only passage which at all corresponds with the language of St. John, is contained in the sixty-ninth Psalm: "And in my thirst they gave me vinegar to drink."

Another example may be observed in the 27th chapter of St. Matthew (vv. 9, 10.): "Then was fulfilled that which was spoken by Jeremy the prophet, saying, And they took the thirty pieces of silver, the price of him that was valued, whom they of the children of Israel did value; and gave them for the potter's field, as the Lord appointed me." The passage in the Old Testament, to which this quotation really refers, is the 13th verse of the 11th chapter of *Zechariah*;—"And the Lord said unto me, Cast it unto the potter; a goodly price that I was prized at of them. And I took the thirty pieces of silver, and cast them to the potter in the house of the Lord." The words, cited by the Evangelist on this occasion, are expressly said to have been taken from the prophecies of *Jeremiah*, though, as we perceive, this statement is notoriously contradicted by the fact. No inference, however, of any importance, can be derived from this circumstance, as we find by consulting the margin of Griesbach's Greek Testament, that sufficient authorities are now extant to justify the belief that the name of one of these prophets has by some mistake been substituted for that of the other. But the variation, in other respects, between the citation in St. Matthew and the text as it now stands, both in the Hebrew and in the version of the LXX, is too striking not to excite notice.

A third instance presents itself in the 19th chapter of St. Matthew (v. 35.): "That it might be fulfilled which was spoken by the prophet, saying, I will open my mouth in parables, I will utter things which have been kept secret from the foundation of the world." It is worthy of observation, that these words, though here said to be quoted from the *prophecies*, are really taken from that division of the Scriptures distinguished by the title of the *Hagiographa*. The passage which the sacred writer had in view is unquestionably the second verse of

<sup>1</sup> St. John xix. 28. ἵνα τελεσθῇ ἡ γραφή, λέγει, Δαβὶδ. Psalm lxxix. 21. (Septuagint.) εἰς τὴν δίψαν μου ἐπέτισέν με ὕδωρ. Hebrew: יָצַקוּ יֶמְעָלַי מַיִם

the 78th Psalm: "I will open my mouth in a parable; I will utter dark sayings of old."<sup>1</sup>

That these and many other citations in the New Testament differ very considerably from the text of the corresponding passages as they stand in the original Hebrew Scriptures, or in that version to which the early Christian writers more frequently resorted,—no one, I imagine, will hesitate to admit. But are we, on that account, at liberty to infer, that the facts to which they are applied are false, or that the chapters in which they are detailed must be spurious? Are we authorised to affirm, that, because the precise words, which our Saviour is related, in a preceding example, to have uttered on the cross, are not to be discovered in the present text of the Old Testament,—no such expression was ever used; or that no such memorable event as the crucifixion ever took place? Does the want of coincidence in this and similar instances justify our discrediting the veracity of the whole work, or even our considering that portion with which it is more immediately connected as the supposititious production of some subsequent author? It must be acknowledged, indeed, that respecting the greater part of the New Testament, though the same circumstance is frequently observable, these assertions have not been made, this mode of reasoning has not been adopted. But the first two chapters of St. Matthew have been destined to encounter a different treatment. Thus because a passage from one of the prophets, which in its primary import related to the release of the Israelites from their slavery in Egypt, is cited by the Evangelist in describing the return of our Lord from that country, a certain class of disputants contend, in the first place, that the quotation is completely misapplied; and they then venture to assume, that the whole account of *the flight into Egypt* is destitute of foundation. Again, because the distance of Ramah from Bethlehem has been imagined to be too great to allow of the application of the prophecy, which originally respected the *captivity*, to the event to which it is referred by

<sup>1</sup> By comparing the following quotations in the New Testament with their corresponding passages in the Old, the same observation may be still farther exemplified. Matt. xi. 10. Matt. xxi. 4, 5. Matt. xxvii. 9, 10. Luke vii. 27. The five following, viz. Matt. xiii. 14, 15. Mark iv. 12. Luke viii. 10. John xii. 40. Acts xxviii. 26, 27., all relate to the same prophecy in Isaiah. John xix. 36. Acts xiii. 40, 41. Acts xv. 15, 16, 17. and more particularly John vii. 37, 38.

the sacred historian, they not only question the genuineness of the chapter containing this narrative, but, encouraged by the silence of Josephus, they attempt to prove, that the massacre of the infants recorded of Herod is a transaction by no means entitled to serious belief. This procedure, however, on the part of our adversaries, must beyond all doubt be deemed inconsistent with impartiality of inquiry, contrary to their own practice on subjects unconnected with religion, and justified neither by the rules of legitimate argument, nor by the result of historical research.

Thus is the direct evidence in favor of the authenticity of the first two chapters of the gospel of St. Matthew submitted to the dispassionate decision of the reader, in conjunction with the replies to all the material objections which the subject has excited. It appears almost impossible to rise from this examination without acknowledging, that the positive arguments in favor of the affirmative side of the question possess the same validity with those adduced to establish the genuineness of the rest of the New Testament, and that they are more than sufficient to overbalance the difficulties which have been placed in the opposite scale. Nothing, in short, seems wanting to render the evidence as complete as the nature of the case will admit, but the concurrent testimony of some of the early and inveterate enemies to the religion of Christ; and this auxiliary proof, though by no means essential, we are able to produce.

It has been shown, in the first place, that the two controverted chapters are contained in every *Greek manuscript* of the four gospels which has reached the present times, with the exception of one of so modern a date as the fourteenth century; which, however, let it be observed, the *genealogy* alone is sufficient. But, even in this individual case, such is the commencement of the text of this gospel, as to render it in the highest degree probable, that the *genealogy* did actually exist in the prior manuscript, from which the present was immediately transcribed. With regard to those few manuscripts which have suffered from the mutilation of accident, or the corruptions of time, no inference can be deduced from that circumstance which would not equally affect many other parts of the New Testament, where suspicion has never for one moment been indulged.<sup>1</sup> In the next place, we have seen that the first

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<sup>1</sup> It should have been stated, that Tatian, one of the early heresiarchs of the second century, omitted the *genealogy* in his *Harmony of the Gospels*, entitled *Τὸ διὰ Τεσσάρων Εὐαγγελίων*, no longer extant; but the same

and second chapters are also included in all the ancient and numerous *versions*, still extant, and still accessible to the examination of the learned. The antiquity, indeed, of these versions varies considerably; but we have the satisfaction of knowing that one of them was made at least as early as in *the middle of the second century*, that another was in existence in *the beginning* of that century, and that a third which, though now lost, formed the basis of the Latin Vulgate, is ascribed by the most competent judges to the same remote period. In a few Latin manuscripts, corrupt copies of the Latin Version, and of doubtful antiquity, the genealogy is separated by an interval from the remainder of these chapters. But since this novelty (for in no other instance is it to be discovered,) in all probability owed its origin to the difficulty felt by the copyists in reconciling the genealogy of St. Matthew with that of St. Luke, their testimony cannot be received; and the manuscripts themselves, compared with the celebrated versions made immediately from the *Greek*, are entitled to no authority whatever. In the third and last place, we have found that the strongest corroboration of the same point is afforded by the *quotations* from these chapters preserved in the writings of the *Christian fathers* of the second, third, and succeeding centuries. But in addition to the concurrent testimony of these early Christian writers, we have in our possession that of the three most acute and formidable *adversaries* with whom the religion of Christ had to contend during the first ages of its progress. If it be obvious from the language of Celsus, the Epicurean philosopher, who flourished in the second century, that he considered these chapters as genuine, we may rest persuaded that, with all his animosity against the doctrines they disclose, and all the ingenuity by which he was characterised, he was unable to detect those marks of a spurious character, which were reserved to be discovered by the keener intellects of modern disputants. He certainly did accuse the Christians (in a passage preserved by Origen<sup>1</sup>) of altering the original of the gospels, "in three or four instances, or oftener," in order to avoid the force of the objections urged against them. At the same time, it is manifest

author from whom we derive this information, (Theodoret) likewise mentions that Tatian rejected the genealogy in St. Luke, (the authority of which is now never called in question) "and every thing which showed Jesus to be the son of David according to the flesh." His evidence, therefore, is of no weight whatever.

<sup>1</sup> Orig. contra Celsum, lib. ii. sect. 27.

that this could not apply to the chapters in question; because no possible alteration of the text, short of expunging the whole, could have had the effect of removing the difficulties brought forward by their opponents, or of satisfying the minds of the latter respecting the miraculoua accounts to which they decidedly refused to yield their assent. In truth, whether the charge was well or ill founded, as it regarded the other parts of the New Testament, the addition of these two chapters (supposing them for a moment to be spurious) would, instead of obviating the objections of infidels, necessarily augment both their number and their weight. That Celsus, however, did in fact entertain the belief of their authenticity, may be evidenced by indisputable references contained in the fragments of his treatise, as they are handed down to us by Origen. The Jew, who is represented by Celsus as arguing against the Christians, observes (*vide Orig. contra Celsum, Cantab. 1658. p. 106.*) "These things we have alleged to you *out of your own writings*, not needing any other witnesses. Thus you are beaten with your own weapons."<sup>1</sup> And in order to prove that he here refers to the first and second chapters of St. Matthew, as he afterwards does to other parts of the four gospels, we need only attend to some of the particulars he has cited in the passages which Origen has happily preserved. Thus he mentions the incarnation and birth of Christ, and that he was born of a virgin; the worship of the Magi; the flight into Egypt; and the slaughter of the infants. It is remarkable that the attacks of this acute opponent of Christianity were almost entirely confined to the four gospels now in our possession, though the apocryphal gospels at that period were very numerous: and with respect to the two chapters in controversy, it cannot be doubted for a moment that, had any substantial proof been produced by the Ebionites and other heretical sects prior to that period against their authenticity, Celsus would gladly have availed himself of a circumstance so favorable to his ~~views~~ <sup>2</sup>.

The testimony of Porphyry, who flourished in the earlier part of the third century, is not less satisfactory, and derives additional importance from his possessing more extensive learning and greater critical skill than Celsus. Though the only part of his works in existence consists of quotations from them by Jerom and others of the fathers, they sufficiently attest the fact which it is our object to establish. Among the passages

<sup>1</sup> Orig. contra Celsum, pp. 23. 30. 32. 45. 51.



quoted by Jerom we meet with an objection against the genealogy in St. Matthew, founded on the necessity of repeating one of the generations in order to complete the number specified by the Evangelist. This difficulty has been considered in a preceding page; but the circumstance of its being urged by Porphyry testifies, beyond all dispute, that the first chapter of St. Matthew, as it now stands, was then considered as forming part of that gospel; and it is a fair inference, that the *second* chapter, from its close connexion with the first, was regarded in the same light.

To the evidence afforded by these two celebrated heathens we may add the attestation of the emperor Julian as a powerful corroboration in favor of the affirmative side of the question. His writings, indeed, like theirs, have long been extinct, but numerous passages have been preserved by Cyril, in his answer to Julian's attack on Christianity, confirming, in the most satisfactory manner, the authenticity of the principal books of the New Testament, and what is more immediately to the point, of the two chapters in dispute. After censuring the manner of applying particular prophecies of the Old Testament, made use of by Christians, he makes this observation: "When you reckon up the genealogy of Joseph, you carry it up to Judah; but you have not been able to continue this dexterously; for Matthew and Luke have been shown to differ with one another respecting the genealogy." This passage evidently indicates his belief that the *first* chapter was the composition of St. Matthew; and that he entertained the same opinion of the *second* chapter, is evinced by an observation of St. Jerom in his commentary on Hosea (ix. 1.):<sup>2</sup> "The emperor Julian, in the seventh volume of his malicious work against the Christians, vents his calumny upon this passage, (Matt. ii. 14, 15.) and says, that the Evangelist Matthew has here transferred to Christ what was written of Israel, in order to impose upon the simplicity of the gentile converts to Christianity." Of Julian's own opinion, therefore no doubt can exist for a moment; and such was his virulence against the Christian faith, that had he been able to adduce any proof subversive of the genuineness of this part of the New Testament, no motive can be assigned for his keeping it concealed. Actuated by the inveterate spirit which he

<sup>1</sup> Lardner's Works, vol. viii. p. 397. 8vo.

<sup>2</sup> Vide Bell's Enquiry into the Divine Missions of John the Baptist and Jesus Christ. Introductory Arguments, p. 84.

never scrupled to display, he must unquestionably have read and studied the works of Celsus and Porphyry;<sup>1</sup> and if any more conclusive arguments had been advanced by them, we may rest assured that he would have urged them with all that force which his superior talents and acuteness were so capable of exerting. Thus powerful then is the evidence derived from these heathen adversaries to the religion of Christ.

I have one additional testimony to adduce in confirmation of the same point, which appears to me of singular importance. It is undoubtedly a remarkable fact that Cerinthus, one of the earliest heretics, and who is usually placed in the first century, is well known to have considered the genealogy of St. Matthew as forming part of the gospel of that Evangelist. It is distinctly stated in the works of Epiphanius that this Gnostic heresiarch and his followers preferred the gospel of St. Matthew on account of its *genealogy*; and the following passage from the same father places the matter beyond all controversy:<sup>2</sup> "It is allowed by all that Cerinthus made use of *the beginning* of St. Matthew's gospel, and from thence endeavored to prove that Jesus was the son of Joseph and Mary."

From the foregoing statement of particulars, it follows as a necessary deduction, that if these chapters were surreptitious, the interpolation could not have taken place during the lifetime of St. Matthew, since the authentic copies of the autograph must, it is obvious, have been preserved with the most

<sup>1</sup> Should it be alleged, that it was impossible that Julian could have seen the works of Porphyry, because by a decree of Constantine the Great they were ordered to be destroyed; we answer, that this edict could have been only *partially* carried into execution, since we find that another decree to the very same effect was made by Theodosius the younger in the year 449, eighty-six years after the death of Julian!

<sup>2</sup> See the whole passage translated in Lardner's Works, vol. ix. pp. 322-329. 8vo. ed. The inconsistency of the Unitarians is here not a little remarkable. Dr. Williams, in his *Free Enquiry*, considers Tatian's omission of the genealogy as unfavorable to its authenticity. The editors of the *Improved Version*, on the contrary, reject the authority of this heresiarch, because his sentiments are completely adverse to the doctrine of the *humanity* of Christ; and they now acknowledge *St. Matthew's genealogy to be genuine*, because they find that it was received by Cerinthus, who was notoriously hostile to the divinity of our Lord. If there be any difference, the arguments in favor of the genealogy are not altogether so forcible as those in support of the remainder of these chapters. The Unitarians, however, admit the former, and reject the latter. As long as the example of the Ebionites is suitable to their views, they follow it without hesitation; the instant it becomes subversive of their peculiar tenets, it is as decidedly condemned.

scrupulous care, and their contents known to every convert to the Christian faith. Not only were transcripts of the Scriptures made for the use of the different churches as they were gradually formed, but it is clear, from St. Paul's injunctions on the subject, that it was the practice of the primitive believers to read them publicly in their religious assemblies; so that no clandestine alteration in the text, no addition to the original, however trivial, could by any possibility have escaped detection. For the same reason, it would be preposterous to suppose that any attempt of the kind could have been made with the faintest hope of success, till after the death of all the apostles: and as it is generally believed that St. John lived till the close of the first century, the only interval for the execution of this chimerical project would have been from the year 90, the period of that apostle's death, to the time when these chapters are proved to have existed. But Cerinthus, to whom the earliest reference to this disputed portion of Scripture can be traced, flourished, according to the best chronologists, towards the latter end of the first century, and was contemporary with St. John. By this fact alone the practicability of forgery is at once negatived; nor would the case be altered, if it could be proved, (and it clearly never has been,) that Cerinthus did not exist before the early part of the ensuing century. But even taking the interval, in which this fraudulent design could have been effected, in its greatest latitude, and computing it from the death of St. John to the middle of the second century, when the controverted chapters are indisputably contained in the *versions* of that date, and are *quoted* in the works of the fathers then living,—will the allegation of our opponents be rendered at all more credible? Let us bear in mind that the copies of St. Matthew's autograph must during that period have been multiplied to a very great extent, in order to keep pace with the increasing number of converts; and on the supposition that an addition of so remarkable a nature could be effected, it must have originated (as indeed has been affirmed) with some particular sect, for the purpose of exalting, in the estimation of the world, the person and character of the founder of their religion. Are we then to believe that the efforts of this party were attended with such complete success, as to induce the whole body of Christians, scattered in different parts of Europe and Asia, to consent to the admission of this fabricated narrative respecting the nativity of Christ, and to suffer it to be delivered down to their posterity as a genuine portion of the original gospel? Or is it possible to conceive that no mention either of the attempt

itself, or of the time when it was made, should occur in the writings of that period, and that even no allusion to it should be traced to the primitive fathers of the church, or to their immediate successors? The very notion is preposterous. It is true, indeed, that these two chapters were rejected by some of the Ebionites, as we have seen; but it must be recollected that the whole of this sect formed but a very small portion of the early converts to Christianity; and that even if the identity of their gospel with that of St. Matthew could be proved, such was the singularity of their tenets, and such the licence they ventured to take with the text of the sacred writings, that no authority whatever could be derived from their example. As one instance of the unjustifiable prejudice of this heretical party, we may remark that they considered the great apostle of the gentiles to be nothing less than an impostor, and that, as a necessary consequence, they discarded his writings. That the same persons therefore should refuse to receive the commencement of St. Matthew's gospel, can excite little surprise, and can certainly never be allowed to weaken its validity.

Still more extraordinary is the total omission of any mention of this fraud, (supposing it to have been perpetrated) in the arguments advanced by the early *opponents* of Christianity. It is notorious that Celsus, and Porphyry, and Julian were all inveterate in their disbelief of the divine origin of this religion, and were equally zealous and acute in devising means to effect its subversion: and is it to be imagined that they would have neglected so admirable an opportunity of exposing their adversaries as any such fraudulent attempt would have presented to them? In truth, it is perfectly obvious that the motive which actuated those who rejected these disputed chapters was not the want of evidence in proof of their authenticity, but the miraculous nature of the facts which they detail. What then is the natural inference to be drawn from these premises? It amounts to nothing short of this,—that to believe that any plan of interpolating into the text of St. Matthew's gospel, widely diffused as it then was, so considerable a portion of our present text as that which is occupied by the first and second chapters, should have been successfully accomplished during the short interval which elapsed from the death of St. John to the commencement, or even middle of the second century; and further to believe that such a perilous fabrication,—so extraordinary from the nature of the facts which it relates, and so exposed to observation from the prominent situation in which it is placed,—should be passed over in profound silence both

by the friends, and the enemies of the Christian faith, would be an instance of credulity to the last degree extravagant and absurd.

After this accumulation of proof, it must require objections of a very different character from those usually advanced by sceptics, to shake the firmness of our conviction, or to authorise the indulgence of reasonable doubt. Unfortunately for our opponents on this occasion, those which have been urged against the first and second chapters of St. Matthew are founded on difficulties which either admit of a rational solution, or which, if they are allowed to possess any weight, must equally invalidate the authenticity of other portions of Scripture, which are universally acknowledged to be the productions of the writers to whom they are attributed. But even were the difficulties alleged as formidable as they are contended to be, still we maintain, that so preponderating is the *positive evidence* which has been here adduced; that the rejection of the fact it is brought to establish, would be in direct opposition to every principle of sound reasoning and impartial discussion.

It has been asked indeed, by those who advocate the opposite side of the question, why any degree of apprehension should be excited by the exclusion of these chapters from the sacred canon, since they disclose no doctrine which may not be found in some other part of Scripture. Are not the objections to Revelation, they observe, by this means evidently diminished, and the opposition of Deists rendered less justifiable, and less pregnant with danger? The removal of every needless obstacle to the reception of the faith we profess, is unquestionably an object greatly to be desired; but the whole tenor of the foregoing inquiry has amply testified, that the present is not one of those cases to which the remark can with justice be applied. If we except those deluded slaves of fanaticism who lay claim to an extraordinary effusion of the Holy Spirit, and who boast that they receive no doctrine of the certainty of which they are not convinced by a divine impulse, it is universally admitted by protestants, that the truth of Christianity is incapable of being proved in any other manner than by human *testimony*. By this alone we learn, that eighteen centuries from the present time, twelve men, uneducated inhabitants of Judea, of irreproachable integrity and sound understanding, submitted to a life of suffering and hardship for the sake of propagating a religion by which they could acquire neither wealth, power, reputation; and for which, rather than renounce their persuasion of its divine origin, they cheerfully incurred persecu-

cution and death.' By testimony alone, we can ascertain the reality of the miracles and the accomplishment of the prophecies attributed to the great Founder of the Christian Faith. And by what other mode of proof can we be assured that the compositions which describe these transactions were written by the authors whose names they bear, and that they have reached the present times without any alteration that can affect either the doctrines which they deliver, or the facts they detail? Whatever, then, tends to lessen our confidence in the attestations of competent and impartial witnesses,—whatever would encourage us to discredit their concurrent testimony to events not inconsistent with human reason,—must in the same proportion endanger the stability of the religion of Christ.

We maintain, that the *direct testimony* in support of the first two chapters of St. Matthew is of the same nature and the same efficacy, as that which is produced to authenticate the other parts of the New Testament; and that the objections, derived from the discrepancy of some of the quotations which they contain with their corresponding passages in the Hebrew Scriptures, can never be allowed, even when taken in their utmost latitude, to alter the credibility of the positive evidence confessedly in our possession. And hence we feel ourselves authorised to affirm that the understandings of those, who deny that these chapters are the genuine production of the author of the remainder of this gospel, are, in this case, most inconsistently

<sup>1</sup> There is a remarkable saying of, Voltaire on this subject recorded in his *Life* by Condorcet, which serves to show the enmity of this singular character against Christianity, and to lead us at the same time to reflect how unavailing have been his efforts to destroy its evidence: “Je suis las,” disait-il un jour, “de leur entendre répéter que douze hommes ont suffi pour établir le Christianisme, et j’ai envie de leur prouver qu’il n’en faut qu’un pour le détruire.” Edit. printed at Kehl, p. 113. Never was there a wish more happily disappointed!

Beyond all question, the most formidable objection against the truth of Christianity is that which was advanced by Hume, and which maintained that no human testimony can be sufficient to sanction our belief of any fact not conformable to the experience of the great mass of mankind. Had it been possible to establish the validity of this position, it would certainly have proved fatal to the religion of Christ; but with all the plausibility with which it is proposed, and all the labored ingenuity by which it is defended, there is no sophism in science which admits of a more decisive answer, or which has received a more complete confutation from eminent writers. Among the numerous replies to this boasted argument of our English historian, we are perhaps indebted for the most successful exposure of its fallacy, to the powerful reasoning of Dr. Campbell and Bishop Douglas.

influenced by a less degree of evidence in preference to a greater.

Not many years have elapsed since an eminent scholar, whose distinguished talents and classical attainments claimed universal respect, ventured to dispute the foundation of the popular belief in the existence of ancient Troy. From the want of coincidence between the present geography of the Troad, and the descriptions of Homer, in conjunction with other collateral arguments, he endeavoured to prove that this celebrated city was nothing more than the creation of the poet's mind, and that the siege by which it is described to have been annihilated, and which will ever form an æra in the annals of Greece, has no more claim to our serious credence than the fictions of romance.<sup>1</sup> To this bold hypothesis it has been justly objected, that, in addition to its deficiency of proof, it tends to subvert the basis of all historical testimony, and to generate an indiscriminate scepticism respecting the remote transactions of past ages. And if this complaint be well founded, in a case where the higher interests of mankind cannot be affected, it must surely be attended with consequences the most injurious, to suffer a few apparent incongruities to outweigh the united attestation of former times, respecting a portion of Scripture so long received as that which has been the subject of the present examination. What is it in effect, but to cherish a spirit of groundless disbelief, by magnifying circumstances of minor importance into substantial and overwhelming objections?

It has long been a complaint, which, though become trite from repetition, still forces itself on our notice, that so perfectly obscured are the understandings of some men on controversial points of theology, that no arguments however conclusive, no evidence however luminous and unperplexed, can persuade them to abandon the most chimerical tenets when promulgated by their own party, or to discern the most palpable errors in the reasoning of those who stand forward in their defence. And yet, under the malignant influence of the same disposition, the most trivial objections urged against the opposite side of the question,—circumstances which on any other occasion would be regarded as too frivolous to claim attention,—are deemed abundantly sufficient to satisfy every unbiassed mind, and to establish a full conviction of the folly and weakness of those to whom they are opposed. The justness of these remarks is but

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<sup>1</sup> Bryant's "*Dissertation on the Siege of Ancient Troy*," &c.

too well exemplified in the discussion before us. We may feel perhaps some degree of astonishment that proofs so little liable to misconception as those which have been detailed in the preceding pages, should meet with resistance; we may regret that difficulties capable of being so easily solved, should in the opinion of our adversaries sanction the disbelief of any part of the sacred volume; but in extending our inquiries, we perceive that these effects are not altogether so unaccountable, as we might, at first, be led to imagine. The great majority of those who deny the authenticity of this portion of St. Matthew, we must call to our recollection, likewise deny the divinity of Christ. But in these very chapters is contained the history of our Lord's miraculous birth, which, if true, must prove fatal to the hypothesis framed by the Unitarians. That this fact has operated as the principal cause of the opposition which has been made to the chapters in question, is rendered clear by the conduct of the same individuals in controverting the authority of the two first chapters of St. Luke's gospel, which confirm the account of the former evangelist respecting our Saviour's nativity. To what an extent the spirit of scepticism will conduct those who have submitted to its control, some idea may be formed by adverting to the attempt which has been made to expunge from the text of the sacred books whatever is discovered to be hostile to their views. In the present instance, the only fact which they have been able to bring forward, wearing the faintest semblance of external evidence, is, that the first and second chapters of St. Luke's gospel were rejected by the Marcionites. But whoever possesses any acquaintance with ecclesiastical history must be well aware that the followers of Marcion were always considered as heretics notoriously de-

\* To be convinced of the folly of placing any confidence in the opinions and practice of this sect, it is only necessary that we should recollect that they rejected all the gospels except that of St. Luke, and that even from this they expunged not only the first and second chapters, but several other passages, inconsistent with their tenets. In several instances also they altered the text of this gospel. It is a singular fact, and which is alone decisive of the question, that Tertullian, who wrote a treatise expressly in answer to Marcion and his adherents, has not even hinted at the slightest evidence brought forward by this sect to authorise their rejecting so material a part of the text of St. Luke. The whole subject, however, has undergone a minute investigation\* by Dr. Loeffler, a German divine, who is led to the conclusion (in which Bishop Marsh fully concurs) that the copy made use of by Marcion was not, in truth, St. Luke's gospel, but some apocryphal gospel, which con-



viating from the primitive purity of the Christian faith, and consequently could never afford the slightest authority for the conduct of the church in after ages of the world. The argument derived from ancient manuscripts, versions, and quotations in the writings of the Fathers, is not even pretended to be defective; and these determined controvertists are therefore compelled to resort to their accustomed plan of pointing out inconsistencies which are easily reconciled, and of supposing difficulties where none are to be found. Such is the frequent result of that restless love of novelty, by which many are induced to reject the well-founded opinions of those around them, and to substitute in their place the bold and unauthorised conjectures of their own distorted imaginations! And such is the close alliance which too often subsists between scepticism and credulity!

Leaving the follies, the prejudices, and the infatuation which too often characterise the various sects and parties of religion, to their own fate, it is the imperious duty of the sober and dispassionate inquirer after truth, patiently to scrutinise the testimony relating to these controverted chapters of St. Matthew, unmindful of their connexion with any system of belief, and without any reference to the consequences which the investigation may produce. If after a deliberate and fair examination the united proofs in their support shall be found, as I am persuaded they will be, to outweigh every objection which ingenuity can devise, or animosity suggest; if the latter shall be discovered to be altogether trifling and insignificant when compared with the former; then must the authenticity of this

tained much matter in common with it. Beil's *Argum.* p. 64.; Lardner, vol. ix. p. 359, 8vo.; Marsh's *Michaelis*, vol. i. p. 37. and vol. iv. p. 159.

But the objection chiefly insisted on by the later Unitarian writers is derived from Luke iii. 23, by which they attempt to show that Herod died two or even three years before our Saviour's birth. This has been fully confuted in a former note; and whoever has read the admirable remarks of Dr. Paley on the discrepancies of the different gospels, will know how to estimate the skill and the intentions of those persons who regard an inconsistency in chronology as sufficient to discredit the whole narrative in which it is found. It is also deserving of observation that the Unitarians themselves differ on this point. Neither Williams, nor Priestley, nor Evanson, though they decidedly reject the introductory chapters both of St. Matthew's and St. Luke's gospels, make the faintest allusion to this chronological difficulty; and if its importance is thus unduly magnified by the Unitarians of the present day, it probably arises from their distrusting the soundness of the arguments employed by their predecessors.

portion of Scripture be admitted without reserve, and the doctrines which are there unfolded be cordially embraced.

To pursue any other mode of conduct, would be at once to violate the laws of sound criticism, to annihilate one of the primary sources of rational conviction, and to countenance the introduction of principles, which, if universally received, would speedily effect the subversion of that sacred citadel in which are deposited the standard of our faith, and the charter of our hopes.

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### NOTICE OF

*FLAVII MEROBAUDIS CARMINUM Orationis-  
nisque Reliquiæ, ex Membris Sangallensibus editæ  
a B. G. NIEBUHRIO, C. F. St. Gallen, 1824.*

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COUNSELLOR of State Niebuhr, long since celebrated in the republic of letters, continues gathering laurels in a field, which, since his edition of *Fronto*, he never entered on without increasing his celebrity. He has lately enriched Latin literature with a new *Anecdoton*, containing fragments of poems, and of a discourse, composed, to all appearance, by *Flavius Merobaudes*—worthy of attention in more than one respect. It is a *codex rescriptus*, from a German library, whose treasures of monuments from antiquity are for the most part yet unknown. Mr. V. Arx, the worthy director of the Seminary at St. Gallen, excited by the interesting results of the researches in several Italian libraries, had reviewed the numerous codices formerly belonging to the Chapter, and pointed out among them several codices rescriptos, which he tried to examine and appreciate according to their contents. Mr. Niebuhr, at that time on his return to Germany, inquired after resources for his intended new edition of *Charisius*. Mr. V. Arx not only satisfied him in this respect, but also communicated to him his discoveries. At last, prevented, by the increasing weakness of his sight, from completing the investigation, he left the whole business to the more experienced scholar.

The Ms. No. 908 had, among those which were reviewed, been marked out, as undoubtedly containing something new and interesting. It belongs to the ninth century, and forms part of

a considerable volume, for the materials of which old codices had been indiscriminately made use of. For the whole Ms., with the exception of a few leaves, is made up of parts, or rather fragments of old codices, to which necessity and accident have given the present shape. Over the original characters, which the ordinary means were employed to efface, or at least to render illegible, we read now a Latin glossarium, of a very subordinate value, although an *ineditum* one, which it might not be altogether uninteresting to examine more closely. The vestiges of the older characters exhibit, as far as it is possible to decipher them, subjects partly liturgical, partly medicinal, and partly also theological. Amidst them there are those leaves from which the fragments above-mentioned are taken, and to which Mr. Niebuhr has, in preference, devoted his attention.

These leaves amount to no more than eight; of which four at least may have belonged to the same section (*ad octavum libri descripti quaternionem*), as the contents, though not regularly continued, are yet of a nature nearly related. Even these, however, are not preserved entire, but curtailed on two sides, in order to give them the present form; a circumstance, by which the extent even of the small part which has been saved is considerably diminished.

The parchment is of the most delicate kind; the letters uncial, reminding us of the celebrated *Veronese* codex of *Cajus*; and the whole codex, to all appearance, originating in the fifth century.

The preserved fragments, which have been published by Mr. N., amount to seven; five poetical, and two in prose, the latter undoubtedly parts of one and the same rhetorical composition. Carmen 1, of twenty-three lines, in the elegiac metre; Carmen 2, of fourteen lines, the commencement of which is mutilated, both addressed to the Emperor Valentinian III.; Carmen 3, of seven lines, likewise fragmentary.; Carmen 4, of forty-six lines. Then follow *orationis de laudibus Aëtii fragmentum* 1 et 2. At last Carmen 5, superscribed *Epri Pæto*, of 197 hexameters. The text has been accurately printed after the Ms., the peculiarities of which are carefully noticed; notes have been added, sufficient to illustrate the text, though perhaps to a less extent than may be desirable. (Mr. N. apologises for this from the want of the requisite resources.) This short commentary also, no less than his other writings, exhibits the extensive learning of Mr. N., and in particular, his eminent attainments in historical criticism.

The sad condition of the leaves, which have furnished these

fragments, has frequently placed Mr. N. under the necessity of supplying by conjecture partly the commencement, partly the end of the verses and lines. This has been done, especially in the first fragment, and even to a greater extent in *Carm. 5*, from v. 50-97, and likewise from 144 to the end. About these supplementa hypercritical readers only, we think, will quarrel with the editor.

All these pieces or fragments may be rightly said to constitute a whole, on account of their having for their object one person, *Flavius Aëtius*, whose biography they enrich with some new and very interesting traits. By this circumstance the time, when the author of these compositions lived, is pretty exactly fixed; namely, in the early part of the fifth century.

The name of the author is not mentioned either in the poems or the panegyric, (for as such this discourse appears even in the form of fragments;) but a remarkable parallel, occurring in the latter, may lead to discover it. Mr. N. follows this vestige, and attempts, by a conjecture, which cannot be otherwise called than very ingenious, to find out the true name of the author. There is a passage in the fragments of the speech, which occurs, almost in the same words, in a table of marble, discovered about ten years ago, by digging on the *Foro Ulpio* at Rome. It is an inscription on the base of a statue erected in honor of *Flavius Merobaudes*. This inscription, which has been illustrated by Mr. *Fea*, and of which Mr. Niebuhr gives an exact copy in the commentary of the announced book, not only mentions the name, but gives also a detailed account of the merits of *Flavius Merobaudes*. The words, *dedicata III. Kal. Aug. Cons. DD. NN. Theodosio XV. et Valentiniano VIII.*, point out the year 435, at which time, in all probability, the panegyric also was pronounced.

As to the discourse, therefore, every doubt might be considered as removed; but as to the poems, there is still some matter of just scruple. For the manner in which the learned counsellor of state has attempted to clear it, we refer our readers to the book itself.

We conclude this announcement with the following remarks: *A Merobaudes* is mentioned in *Fabricii Biblioth. Lat. Med. et Inf. Ætat. tom. 5. pag. 212.* (of the German editor), as a Spanish scholar, to whom Fabricius ascribes a poem, beginning with the words, *Proles vera Dei antiquior omnibus annis*. The author of the *Bibliotheca* considers this *Merobaudes*, and one mentioned by *Idacius* ad a. 427., to be the same person. The

words of Idacius are : *Merobaudes, natu nobilis et eloquentiæ merito vel maxime in pœmatis studio veteribus comparandus* (comp. Niebur, p. Præf. ix), TESTIMONIO ETIAM PROVECTUS STATUARUM. These words admit of no other reference than to our Flavius Merobaudes, author of the announced compositions, of whom Boëthius also speaks several times with great respect : vide Comment. in Topica Cicer. iv. p. 807, and v. p. 835, of the Basil edition of 1570.

## NOTICE OF

*BALTHASSARIS CASTILIONII, Patricii Mantuani, Carmina, et alia Opuscula, aucta, emendata, et illustrata. In Padova, 1733.*

[Concluded from No. LXV.]

THERE is, lastly, another sort of poetry, which does not, or at least ought not to rank so high as those we have before attempted to point out. It is not diversified or ennobled by luxuriant imagery, sublimity of thought, or powerful language, but acquires all its attractions from the total absence of all meretricious ornament, a certain “*curiosa felicitas*” of expression, simplicity, sensibility, and pathos. It is best adapted for amatory poetry, and is in fact the very style which the greatest masters of that art have adopted. The most perfect specimens of this department of poetry are, we think, the Epistles of Ovid, the Eloise of Pope ; and, though last, not least, the Elegies of the eloquent and impassioned Tibullus. It is a species of writing which speaks more to the heart than the imagination,—which awakens our sympathies, instead of our energies,—and which elicits no emotions of wonder, rapture, or admiration, but only the kindly and gentle overflowings of a susceptible heart. How exquisitely beautiful and simple is the exclamation of Zelika in Lalla Rookh, when she is urged by her lover to fly from the snares of the tyrant, who had first deceived, and then betrayed and ruined her !

“ What I take the *lost one* with thee?—let her rove  
By thy dear side, as in those days of love,  
When we were both so happy, both so pure !”

How natural, and yet how feeling the expression of Tibullus !

“Non ego totus abesset amor, sed mutuus esset,  
Orabam ; nec te posse carere velim.”

And how thrilling are the emotions summoned up by the simple and unadorned words of the gentle Hypermnestra !

“I, pedes quo te rapiunt et auræ,  
Dum favet nox, et Venus ; i secundo  
Omne ; et nostri memorem sepulchro  
Scalpe querelam.”

Numerous as the favorers of this style of poetry are, and much as we ourselves admire it, we still cannot but think that it ought not to be placed in competition with those before enumerated ; and for this reason, that it partakes of less inspiration, as it is more nearly allied to prose, resting its whole merits on the appeals which it makes to the heart and feelings. It is the poetry of unadorned nature ; and is immediately defaced, when it becomes loaded with gaudy trappings and swelling sounds. It is the poetry of Burns. But can he compete with a genius such as Shakspeare ? Burns is the national poet of Scotland—Shakspeare the poet of no age or country, but all countries and all time.

These in our opinion are the necessary constituents of poetry ; and indeed it will be difficult to find any one (we speak in course of *poets*, not *rhymesters*) who is not remarkable for, or whose peculiar talent is not characterised by, one of these four qualities. He who can combine them all must ever stand super-eminent ; and the station to be assigned to others ought to be determined according as they possess the highest or lowest of these attributes. The poetry of the *Iliad* consists principally in the force, beauty, and copiousness of the language, the striking contrast of character, and the variety of incident. The *Iliad*, and *Jerusalemme Liberata*, are rather the works of a highly cultivated taste, and active fancy, than the sublime inspirations of real poetry. The *Lusiad* is somewhat of the same order, except that it abounds in strong and nervous sentiment, which we in vain seek for in either of the two preceding poems. Milton and Dante had more sublimity, more of real inspiration, grander ideas, and more powerful language at command than any of these great masters of epic poetry ; and in our opinion are decidedly superior to them all.

We have already taken so much room in explaining our sentiments relative to the necessary qualities of poetry in general, that we must defer all particular consideration of the modern Latin poets until our next paper. Having now cleared away

the underwood that entangled our path, and having, as we trust, fully explained the virtues of the touchstone, which we intend to apply as a test of poetical merit, we shall be enabled to discuss more fully and clearly the beauties and defects of Latin poetry, both ancient and modern, and to decide more correctly the rank which it is entitled to hold amongst the other various departments of literature.

Of Castiglione himself, as his Latin poems are not very numerous, we shall make but two extracts; but which, we trust, will prove a sufficient inducement to our readers to commence a better acquaintance with him. As far as regards his merits as a poet, we think he has been in general overrated. Castiglione was not *born* a poet: and we are the more confirmed in this opinion by a perusal of his Italian poems, in which he had no such difficulties as that of writing in a foreign idiom to contend with; but the most melodious and most poetical of all modern languages already formed and finished to his hand. His Latin poems are indeed decidedly superior both in spirit and elegance to those which he wrote in his own tongue; in itself a strong proof that he had more of art than genuine inspiration. We consider him to hold a middle station amongst the modern Latinists, inferior to none for purity or elegance of expression, but often surpassed in fertility of imagination and poetic diction. As an imitator he will always be looked up to; but his claims to any originality or individuality of genius are far from being well founded or even satisfactory. He has little fancy, and less command of imagery, but is always graceful, and sometimes even touching and pathetic. His taste was truly classical; his judgment sound and mature; and this enables him always to please, if he does not astonish. Like our own Addison, his prose is more beautiful, more ornamental, and even more poetical, than his verse; and like the same great man, his Latin verses are better than those composed in his mother-tongue. In short, whatever rank we may assign to him amongst the worthies of modern Latin, he will always be read with pleasure, and remembered with gratitude.

The poem we are about to extract has been wrongly attributed by Brokhusius, and some other great scholars, to the wife of Castiglione, Hippolyte Taurella, who certainly wrote several pieces, but they were all in her own tongue. This error is corrected in our edition. Of all Castiglione's "*Carmina*," this elegy is, in our opinion, decidedly the best. There is more simplicity and pathos in it, and the imitation is less palpable and glaring. The exclamation—

“ Hei mihi, quam dispar nunc mea vita tuæ est !”

is exquisitely tender and natural, and worthy of any of the greatest masters of elegiac poetry. Our author appears to have taken Propert. Eleg. iii. lib. 4. as his model; but the style reminds us more forcibly of the simplicity and deep feeling of Tibullus, than the frigid and erudite love-making of Propertius and his school.

*Balthassaris Castilionis Elegia, qua fingit Hippolyten suam ad se ipsum scribentem.*

“ Hippolyte mittit mandata hæc Castilioni;  
Addideram imprudens, hei mihi, pane suo.  
Te tua Roma tenet, mihi quam narrare solebas  
Unam delicias esse hominum, atque deum.  
Hoc quoque nunc maior, quod magno est aucta Leone,<sup>1</sup>  
Tam bene pacati qui imperium orbis habet.  
Hic tibi nec desunt celeberrima turba sodales;  
Apta oculos etiam multa tenere tuos.  
Nam modo tot præscæ spectas miracula gentis,  
Hæroni et titulis clara trophæa suis;  
Nunc Vaticani surgentia maiore templa,  
Et quæ porticibus aurea tectâ intent:  
Iriguos fontes, hortosque, et amœna vireta,  
Plurima quæ umbroso margine Tybris habet.  
Utque ferunt, cœtu convivia læta frequenti,  
Et celebras lentis otia mista jocis.  
Aut cithara æstivum attenuas cantuque calorem;  
Hei mihi! quam dispar nunc mea vita tuæ est.  
Nec mihi displiceant quæ sunt, tibi grata; sed ipsa est  
Te sine lux oculis pane inimica meis.  
Non auro, aut gemma caput exornare nitenti  
Me juvat, aut Arabo spargere odore comas;  
Non celebres ludos festis spectare diebus,  
Cum populi complet densa corona forum;  
Et ferus in media exultat gladiator arena,  
Hæstæ concurret vel cataphractus eques.  
<sup>2</sup> Sola tuos vultus referens, Raphaëlis imago  
Picta manu curas allevat usque meas.  
Huic ego delicias facio, arrideoque,<sup>3</sup> jocoque,  
Alloquor et, tanquam reddere verba queat.  
Assensu, nutuque mihi sæpe illa videtur  
Dicere velle aliquid, et tuæ verba loqui.  
Agnoscit, balboque patrem puer ore salutat:  
Hoc solor longos, decipioque dies.

<sup>1</sup> Hæc Arethusa suo mittit mandata Lycotæ,  
Cum toties absis, si potes esse meus.—Prop. Eleg. iv. 3.

<sup>2</sup> Pope Leo X.

<sup>3</sup> Propert. Eleg. iv. 11, 91. Ovid. Heroid. vii. 99. xiii. 152.

<sup>4</sup> This false quantity is in all the editions, which we have consulted, plorantibus quidem Musis.



At quicumque istinc ad nos accesserit hospes,  
 Hunc ego quid dicas, quid faciasne, rogo.  
 Cuncta mihi de te incutiunt audita timorem;  
 Vano etiam absentes sæpe timore pavent.  
 Sed mihi nescio quis narravit sæpe tumultus,  
 Misericque neces per fora, perque vias;  
 Cum populi pars hæc Ursum, pars illa Columnam  
 Invocat, et trepida corripit arma manu.  
 Ne tu, ne, quæso, tantis te immitte periclis;  
 Sat tibi sit, tuto posse redire domum.  
 Romæ etiam fama est cultas habitare puellas,  
 Sed quæ lascivo turpiter igne caleunt.  
 Illis venalis forma est, corpusque, pudorque;  
 His tu blanditiis ne capiare, cave.  
 Sed nisi jam captum blanda hæc te vincla tenerent,  
 Tam longas absens non paterere moras.  
 Nam memini, cum te vivum jurare solebas,  
 Non me, si cupias, posse carere diu.  
 Vivis, Castilion; vivasque bratius opto;  
 Nec tibi jam durum est me caruisse diu.  
 Cur tua mutata est igitur mens? cui prior ille,  
 Ille tuo nostri corde refrinxit amor?  
 Cui tibi nunc videor vilis? nec, ut ante solebam,  
 Digna, tori sociam quam patiare tui?  
 Scilicet in ventos promissa abiire, fidesque,  
 A nostris simul ac vestri abiire oculi.  
 Et tibi nunc subeunt fors-an fastidia nostri,  
 Et grave jam Hippolytes nomen in aure tua est.  
 'Me tibi, teque mihi sors, et Deus ipse dedere;  
 Quidnam igitur nobis dissidium esse potest.'  
 Verum ut me fugias, patriam fugis, improbe? nec te  
 Cara parens, nati nec pia cura tenet?  
 Quid queror? en tua scribenti epistola venit,  
 Grata quidem, dictis si modo certa fides;  
 Te nostri desiderio languere, pedemque  
 Quam primum ad patrios velle referre lares;  
 Torquerique mora, sed magni jussa Leonis  
 Jamdudum reditus detinuisse tuos.  
 Illis ego perlectus, sic ad tua verba revixi,  
 Surgere ut æstivis imbribus herba solet.  
 Quæ licet ex toto non ausim vera fateri,  
 Qualiacumque tamen credulitate juvant.  
 Credam ego quod fieri cupio, votisque favebo  
 Ipsa meis; vera hæc quis vetet esse tamen?  
 Nec tibi sunt præcordia ferrea, nec tibi dura  
 Ubra in Alpinis cautibus ursa dedit.  
 Nec culpanda tua est mora, nam præcepta deorum  
 Non fas, nec tutum est spernere velle hominum.  
 Esse tamen fertur clementia tanta Leonis,  
 Ut facili humanas audiat aure preces.  
 Tu modo et illius numen veneratus adora,  
 Pronaque sacratis oscula da pedibus.  
 Cumque tua attuleris supplex vota, adjice nostra,  
 Atque meo laetas nomine funde preces.

Aut jubeat te jam properare ad mœnia Mantis,  
 Aut inc Romanas tecum habitare domos.  
 Namque ego sum sine te, veluti spoliata magistro  
 Cymba, procellosi quam rapit unda maris.  
 Et data cum tibi sim utroque orba puella parente,  
<sup>1</sup> Solus tu mihi vir, solus uterque parens.  
 Nunc nimis ingrata est vita hæc mihi; namque ego tantum  
<sup>2</sup> Tecum vivere amem, tecum obeamque libens.  
 Præstabit veniam mitis deus ille roganti,  
 Auspiciisque bonis, et bene, dicit, eas.  
 Ocyus huc celeres mannos conscende, viator,  
 Atque moras omnes rumpe, viamque vora.  
 Te læta excipiet, festisque ornata coronis,  
 Et domini adventum sentiet ipsa domus.  
<sup>3</sup> Vota ego persolvam templo, inscribamque tabellæ;  
 Hippolyte, salvi conjugis ob reditum."

Our second extract is altogether of a different style; but not less deserving of our warmest approbation. It is a happy imitation of the best and purest writing of Propertius; possessing all his elegance and sprightliness, without that affected and excessive display of learning, which too often chills the flow of the Roman poet. Though an imitation, it is as an imitation should be—not a servile copy of any particular set of phrases and sentiments, recooked and served up for the twentieth time, till they become flat and insipid; but rather betokening a congeniality of thought and feeling, caught perhaps from the inspirations of some master-hand, and yet breathing the freshness and spirit of an original.

*Ad puellam in littore ambulantem.*

" Ad mare ne accedas propius, mea vita, protervos  
 Nimirum, et turpes continet unda deos.  
 Illic opium, si quam incantam aspexere puellam  
 Secures bibulo littore ferre gradus.  
 Quin etiam in siccum exsiliunt sæpe, agmine facto,  
 Atque abigunt captos ad sua regna homines.  
 Tum si qua est inter prædæ formosa puella,  
 Tantum hæc non subito piscibus esca datur;  
 Sed miseram lædis male habent complexibus omnes,  
 Invitamque jubent hispida monstra pati.  
 Os informe illis, rictus, oculique minaces,  
 Aspera que anguino coruæ membra rigent.  
 Barba impexa, ingens, algæ limoque virenti  
 Oblita, oletque gravi lurida odore coma.

<sup>1</sup> Tu mihi sola domus, tu, Cynthia, sola penates.

Propert. Eleg. i. 11, 24.

<sup>2</sup> Horat. Od. iii. 9. ult.

<sup>3</sup> Armaque cum tulero portæ votiva Capenæ,  
 Subscribam. Salvo grata puella viro.

Propert. Eleg. iv. 3. 11.

Hos tu seu pirces, seu monstra obscœna vocare,  
 Sive deos, mavis ; si sapis, ipsa cave.  
 Nec tibi sit tanti, pictos legisse lapillos,  
 Ut pereas magno, vita, dolore meo.  
 Quin potius diversi abeamus ; respice, ut antrum  
 Ad dextram viridi protegit umbra solo.  
 Decurrit rivus gelidis argenteus undis,  
 Pictaque odorato flore residet humus.  
 Imminet et fontu multa nemus illic densum,  
 Et volucres liquido guttore dulce canunt.  
 Hic poteris tuto molli requiescere in herba  
 Propter aquam, et niveos amne lavare pedes.  
 Tu mihi serâ tuâ contexta coloribus ; ipse  
 Texta meis contra mox tibi serâ legam.  
 Floribus, et roseis crinem re lincta corollis,  
 Et comito iuvenes conspicienda sinu.  
 Poplite deinde tenuis succincta imitare Nymphas ;  
 Obvia marmoreum detegat aura latus.  
 Silvicolas, mea vita, deos torquebis amore ;  
 Ignibus urentur flumina et ipsa meis.  
 Inde domum formosa magis et magis culta redibis.  
 Rumpetur tacita tum Hippolyte invidia.  
 Sed sensum subsistas, ne te forte puellarum  
 Æqualis versam cernat abire chorus.  
 Nesciat hoc quisquam, nam si nos turba sequatur,  
 Antra ingrata tibi, ingrata et erunt nemora :  
 Has fatuas rapiant pelagi, sine, monstra puellas :  
 Nos ceptum huc furtim dissimulemus iter.  
 Quod si qua interea audieris per littora murmur,  
 Lux mea, te in nostro protinus abde sinu."

There are but two faults, which we can find in this little piece to hinder it from being perfect ; the cold and insufferable conceit,

" Ignibus urentur flumina et ipsa meis ;"

and the shameful carelessness of such a cæsura as

" Antra ingrata tibi ingrata et erunt nemora."

But as this poem was not published originally with the rest of Castiglione's Latin verses, but discovered amongst his papers after his death, it is probable that it had not received its final polish from the pen of its author ; and then it would be an ungenerous and ungrateful task to criticise it too minutely ;

" Velut si

Ægregio inspersos reprehendas corpore nævos."

We might add a long list of mighty names, Scaliger, Vulpinus, Brokhusius, Burmann, &c., all of whom have been loud in celebrating the praises of Castiglione, did we imagine that our readers would need any further recommendation, or any more powerful excitement towards procuring a copy of this little

## *Remarks on Sir W. Drummond's Origines.* 293

book, than the extracts which we have made. They speak for themselves, more eloquently and substantially than the empty praises of all the scholars the world has produced.

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### ORIGINES;

*Or, Remarks on the Origin of several States, Empires, and Cities.* By SIR W. DRUMMOND. 8vo.

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The Hebrew the primitive language of mankind.

[Concluded from No. LXV.]

IN the first volume of his interesting researches, page 85, Sir W. Drummond observes,

"It can be shown from the Bible itself, that the language spoken by mankind before the flood was Hebrew"

His proof for the truth of this position is, that many of the names of persons mentioned before the flood were given to them for reasons specified, which very reasons appear manifestly in the etymological meaning of the names in Hebrew.

He instances *Kain*, of whom his mother said, I have gotten a man from the Lord; but *Kain* in Hebrew signifies *acquisition*, and the reference of *Kainiti*, I have gotten, to *Kain*, shows that Eve spoke in the Hebrew language.

Parkhurst in his preface to his Hebrew Lexicon confirms Sir W. D. as follows: "It appears evident from the Mosaic account of the original formation of man, that language was the immediate gift of God to Adam; and the language thus communicated by God to Adam, notwithstanding the objections of ancient or modern cavillers, was no other (I mean as to the main and structure of it) than that Hebrew in which Moses wrote. Else, what meaneth the inspired historian when he wrote, Gen. ii. 19, *Whatsoever Adam called every living creature, that was the name thereof?* And the names of Adam, Eve, Cain, Abel, Seth, Noah, &c., with their etymological reasons, are as truly Hebrew as those of Peleg, Abraham, Sarah, Isaac, &c." See the references in Parkhurst to authors who have treated this subject.

It is very satisfactory, then, to find that an unprejudiced and competent inquirer, Sir W. Drummond, has been led by close

investigation, to this very conclusion, that the Hebrew is the primitive language of mankind.

It is also of great importance in the present age, that there should be some witnesses for truth, when it is not generally understood that questions must be examined in a degree adequate to their length and breadth, and argued according to the particular evidence of which they are susceptible. For while we boast that we live in the age of light and reason, and that we are they that ought to be heard,

Ἡμεῖς γὰρ πατέρων μέγ' ἀμείνονες εὐχόμεθ' εἶναι,  
it is too often found in fact that the most absurd suggestion of a *possibility*, of a *MAY BE*, is deemed sufficient to upset the most indissoluble chain of arguments. In truth, if I may be permitted to express my own sense of the difference between the logic of our forefathers, and that of the present generation, though with many bright exceptions, to which number Sir W. D. eminently belongs, it would be in the following distich :

Si quondam ratio fieri pro posse valebat,

Jam posse et fieri pro ratione valet.

Not that I blame any one, for suggesting a *may be* ; for I propose now to do so myself, and to state every *may be* that is connected with this question ; but what I animadvert on is, that in the present age we dismiss the most interesting and important conclusions made by competent inquirers, without inquiring even into the kind and degree of evidence on which they rest ; much more, without weighing well the whole train of the argument, and distinguishing errors from truths. And this we do, because our forefathers as much exceeded in carrying too far the maxim

*Cui libet in arte sua credendum est.*

The happy mean is, either examine thoroughly for yourself, if you are able, or properly attend to those who do so examine ; a sentiment well expressed in Aristotle's *Ethics*, ch. iv.

Ὅς δέ κε μήτ' αὐτὸς νοέῃ, μήτ' ἄλλου ἀκούων

Ἐν θυμῷ βάλλεται, ἔδ' αὖτ' ἀχρεΐος ἀνὴρ.

The Romans most wisely adopted this maxim. (Liv. lib. 22. § 29.) Hesiod was the original author. I will propose then such *may be's* to Sir W. Drummond's position as occur to my mind ; not that they have any weight with myself, but because they *may* have some with others. The first of these formidable *possibilities* is, that the names of the Patriarchs may have been translated into Hebrew from some more ancient language ; that is, that the names may not themselves have been preserved, but

new ones formed in the language into which the translation was made, signifying etymologically in the latter language what they signified in the former.

But until evidence of some kind for the fact be both brought, and sifted ; until some example of the same kind of process be alleged, and compared with that asserted to have been made in rendering into Hebrew the names of the Patriarchs, and the cases proved to be truly parallel, pardon me, if I value this *may be* no more than if it had been asserted that it *might have been*, that the Simorg herself, *that old and only bird*, had expressly pronounced that she had translated the names of the Patriarchs from a more ancient language than Hebrew.

A more rational question is, whether among the Oriental languages which preserve in common with Hebrew the etymological reason of the names of the Patriarchs, together with the names, there may not be some one more ancient than Hebrew, of which the Hebrew may be merely a dialect.

But this is a question of very little importance with respect to Sir W. Drummond's position ; for, if all the Oriental languages alike preserve the etymology of the Patriarchs, as above stated, then it is undeniable, that they are not, at least originally, distinct, but one and the same language, however by time or other circumstances they may each have introduced its own peculiarities, as the several states of Greece formed, each, its own dialect ; while no one doubts but that all the dialects are one and the same language. By analogy, the Oriental languages should be denominated dialects, until it can be proved that some one of them is the original language, of which others are dialects.

Now the most ancient book written in any one of these dialects is the book of Job. Job, say some, was descended from Uz, the eldest son of Nahor, Abraham's brother ; from whom the country derived its name ; but Dr. Hales, by a combination and coincidence of various evidence deduced from history, chronology, and astronomy, fixes the time of Job's trial to the year 2337 B. C., 184 years before the birth of Abraham, 474 before the settlement of Jacob's family in Egypt, and 689 years before their exode. (Robinson's Bibl. Dict.)

It seems, however, generally now agreed that the book of Job is the oldest book in the world extant in an Oriental form. And it would be important to inquire for our present purpose whether its form of language bears marks of priority to the Hebrew form of Moses, or of having been a dialect of Hebrew

naturally formed by a long separation of nations, which originally spake the same language.

As also, whether we can trace marks of priority in the forms of language used by Job and Moses in reference to the difficulty and facility of the pronunciation and length of words.

It is well known that foreigners and children in learning any language substitute more easy sounds for harder ones ; and, where this is the case, we justly argue the priority of the form in which the harder sounds are preserved. The letter D, for instance, used in Latin for *Th*, was probably adopted, because *Th* was pronounced by the Greeks as we pronounce *Th* in *The* ; c. g. *Deus* for *Θεός*.

So in respect to the length of words, Dr. Shukford seems to have proved that the more ancient any language is, the shorter are the words which it uses. He considers the Hebrew dissyllabic roots as being in fact compounds of monosyllabic roots. In his *Connexion of Sacred and Profane History*, vol. i. p. 98, he investigates the signs of priority in languages. His conclusion is, that if we look into the Hebrew tongue, according to the rules which he has proposed, we shall reduce it to a very great simplicity, and bring it to a few names of things, men, and actions ; we shall make *all its words monosyllables*, and give it the true marks of an original language. And if we consider how few the radical words are, about five hundred, such a paucity is another argument in its favor.

He considers also the argument from the etymology of names, but not according to a complete induction from *all the antediluvian names* ; whereby he misses the former argument on which we insisted.

Thus far with respect to Dr. Hales' hypothesis, which supposes Job to have lived before Abraham ; but on the generally received supposition that Job was descended from Abraham's brother, in connexion with the fact that Ishmael, the son of Abraham, was father of the twelve tribes of the Arabians, may we not infer that the language of the book of Job, who undoubtedly was an Arabian, is a dialect of the language of Abraham, deviating, as yet, but a little from the mother tongue, and exhibiting the Arabic tongue in its first stage of declination from Hebrew ?

Dr. Shukford observes, that the writers who have treated the subject of the priority of languages bring into competition the Hebrew, Chaldean, Syrian, or Arabian. But the arguments for the Syrian and Arabian, he says, are few and trifling. The Chaldean tongue is indeed contended for by very learned

writers. I am inclined, he adds, to think that if any one would take the pains to examine strictly these two languages, and take from each what may reasonably be supposed to have been improvements made since their original, he will find the Chaldean and Hebrew tongues to have been at first *the very same*. There are evidently, even still, in the Chaldean tongue great numbers of words the same with the Hebrew, perhaps as many as mankind had for their use before the Confusion of Babel; and there are many words in these two tongues which are very different; but their import or signification is very often such, as may occasion us to conjecture that they were invented at or since that confusion. It would be of little purpose to consider at large the dispute for the priority of the Hebrew or Chaldean tongue. We may take either, and endeavour to strip it of all its improvements, and see whether in its first infant state it has any real marks of an original language. I shall choose, he adds, the Hebrew, and leave the learned reader to consider how far what I offer may be equally true of the Chaldean tongue. (*Ibid.* p. 102.)

If we add to this, that Abraham was a Chaldean who quitted Chaldea, and that his descendants had no communication with Chaldea for 1400 years, and at the end of so long a period of separation observe that the Hebrew and Chaldee of Daniel vary but little, we shall not be able to account for so remarkable an agreement, upon any other principle than that the languages were originally one and the same; and we shall wonder rather that in the time of Daniel they varied so little, than hesitate to pronounce at once their primitive identity.

That the Punic language of the Carthaginians was the same with that of the Phenicians needs no proof, but it has been also proved from a play of Plautus, that the Punic language is the same as the Hebrew; and by consequence, that the Phenician and Hebrew were the same. (*Bochart in the Pœnulus, &c.*)

In respect to the Egyptian, it might seem probable that in the time of Abraham it did not materially differ from the Hebrew, since Abraham seems to have freely conversed with Pharaoh without the help of an interpreter: and it is further observable from Herodotus that the Egyptians considered

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<sup>1</sup> Perhaps the word *Babble* may be derived from *Babel*, and refer to some organic inability to pronounce words alike, inflicted on the nations, who, had they continued united in one language, might have defeated God's intention respecting the progress of Truth. The day of Pentecost was a similar judgment on the Jews, and the revival of learning, on the *Latin Church*.



priority of language as the test of priority in nations ; and that they did not certainly know what language was most ancient, as the experiment respecting the children proves. To sum up then the *probabilities*, without regard to *possibilities*, which I put out of the question, I wish to be better informed, if I err in stating the evidence as follows.

1. Until some more solid reason can be given to the contrary, the argument for priority from the names of the Patriarchs is presumptive in favor of the Hebrew or some of the cognate Oriental forms (*κατὰ τὴν ὑποκειμένην ὕλην*).

2. Dr. Shukford's argument, from the simplicity of this language, adds weight.

3. Sir W. Drummond observes also, that we may trace the origin of language to Babylonia, or at least to its vicinity.

4. That in the inquiry, which of these dialects is most ancient, we must first compare the Book of Job with the Pentateuch, as being the only two books composed and preserved in the primitive state of these languages, and, consequently, the only ones which afford us adequate means even to examine the claims of each to priority. In the next place we must compare the Hebrew and Chaldee of Daniel.

5. That two principal points of comparison should be, the brevity of the words, and the facility of pronunciation, as above stated.

6. That we may fairly conclude, that the Hebrew language was the language of all the world until the dispersion from Babel, and the very language of Babylonia in the days of Abraham.

I would next observe, that it appears to myself probable that the dispersion was occasioned, not by a change of language, but of pronunciation. The difference which afterwards obtained in 1400 years from Abraham to Daniel in Hebrew and Chaldee, is small indeed for the 'duration of the time. My chief reason for such a supposition, is principally grounded upon observation that the etymological meaning of Greek, Latin, Saxon, Welch, and English terms may very commonly be traced to Hebrew.

What we principally need in order to prove this position is a selection of certain derivations in different languages, both immediately and intermediately, plainly deduced from Hebrew. Such a selection would enable us to form general analogical

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It is worthy of notice that Balaam spake Hebrew, and that the Israelites and adjoining nations seem to have understood one another very well ; as likewise that the proper names of persons among them have commonly an etymology not very remote from Hebrew.

rules for tracing derivation in doubtful cases. And this is precisely what I expect from an eminent medical practitioner resident in Bristol, who has favored me with the result of his indefatigable researches into the origin of the English language, which he has traced through all its kindred dialects on the Continent to HEBREW. And I have myself, by not a few investigations, proved to my own satisfaction the truth of his assertion, not only with respect to the English language, but to Greek.

Mr. Sammes, the author of *Britannia Antiqua Illustrata*, 1676, has taken the same ground, and seems to myself to have proved that the ancient British language bears every mark of the highest antiquity, and of *immediate* derivation from Hebrew. And he justly infers that this circumstance shows the early communication of the Phenicians with the British; a subject which he only, as far as I know, has treated in a satisfactory manner.

This learned author asserts (p. 71, &c.) that the Phenicians and Canaanites were the same people—that all the people that sprang from the Hebrew nation, &c. differed not in their language, save only in their *dialect*, and it is instanced in the Punic language, to show the agreement between the Phenicians and them, and it is further argued that the difference in latter times did more fully appear by reason of innovations—that the Hebrew continued in its native purity until the Captivity of Babylon; which language beginning from the Creation was preserved very near 3440 years; and then, and not till then, it degenerated from its primary institution, after the return of the Jews from their captivity.

This statement is confirmed by the promise in the third chapter of Zephaniah, referring to the dispersion both at Babel and in Babylon. The learned author of the Celtic Researches, Mr. Davies, (p. 102.) by other arguments arrives at the same conclusion for which Sir W. D. contends.

“Hence, (he observes,) it undeniably follows that the fundamental principles and general character of the patriarchal language of Noah must be preserved in the Hebrew language, and in those dialects which are connected with it;—though the Hebrew cannot safely be pronounced to have been the *primitive language*, yet it must be received as a dialect of this language, and as a most respectable scale to appreciate the character of every dialect whatsoever.”

At p. 100. he asserts, that the Hebrew was the language of the Canaanites in the time of Abraham and Moses, and at p. 98. that, if the Hebrew be the pure language of Noah, it must have been preserved to the time of Abraham, rather by the descendants of Canaan than by those of Heber; which will ac-

count for Jacob's using the Hebrew language, while Laban spoke the Chaldaic.

At p. 96. he observes, that we have the names of men and places among the old Canaanites in the time of Abraham in pure Hebrew. We have Phenician inscriptions, the fragment of the Punic language in the *Pœnulus* of Plautus, and the remains of that language in the island of Malta, as undeniable proofs that the Hebrew was the genuine language of the house of Canaan, which preserved it with very little variation to a late age.

At p. 88. he asserts that in whatever degree the subjects of Nimrod may have contributed to the corrupting of the primitive religion of mankind, we cannot surely ascribe to them the introduction of those numerous terms, both sacred and profane, which diffused themselves amongst a great variety of nations, preserving every where, either a striking similarity or an absolute identity of sound and sense. *They* cannot surely have been the authors of that general analogy which has been remarked and demonstrated between the principles of all ancient languages. It is more reasonable to suppose that these things are the remains of the *one language of the whole earth*; which was best preserved by the obedient families. And that centre of union which is frequently traced to the venerable language of the Pentateuch confirms the supposition.

That there are evident vestiges of such identity, has been abundantly proved. We can scarcely open a book upon any learned subject in which they do not present themselves. Such instances have furnished employment to numerous philologists, who have taken great pains to show how the terms and idioms of our language are borrowed from those of another; as the English from the French; the French from the Latin; the Latin from the Greek; the Greek from the Phenician or Egyptian; and perhaps these from the old Chaldaic.

Mr. Davies (p. 61.) has added also a judicious defence of the chronology of the Hebrew text against the claims of the Samaritan Pentateuch, agreeable to the judgment which I ventured in my former paper.

I have now stated what I trust is sufficient for the confirmation of Sir W. D.'s assertion, *that the language spoken by mankind before the flood was Hebrew*; or, as I add, at least a language, not differing more from Hebrew than two dialects of Greek differ from one another.

I have further advanced that to some form of this language, all of which forms we may as properly call Hebrew as we call

the several Greek dialects by the name of Greek, we may trace our own language, either immediately or intermediately.

I would next observe that I have found the tracing of words etymologically to Hebrew not only to be most interesting, but satisfactory, and of exceeding importance, especially in the study of the Greek Testament, much more of which, than is commonly supposed, is a translation by approximation, as nearly as the two languages can admit, of the Hebrew SS. And as far as my own experience leads, I would go so far as to say that we cannot thoroughly understand Greek, Latin, or English, unless we trace the roots of these languages to Hebrew. See Anselm Bayly's similar assertion in his admirable preface to his Hebrew Grammar, which contains a most important and seasonable warning to our own times.

I would now offer a few observations on the method of tracing words to Hebrew roots. Following the analogy of the changes by dialect in the Greek language, as stated in Dr. Valpy's excellent Greek Grammar p. 189., I offer a few remarks on some of the letters of the alphabet, for the purpose of showing the nature of the method which ought to be used in investigating the changes which the Hebrew fountain has undergone, in flowing in the streams of all languages. For I feel convinced, that if the method proposed shall ever be as completely and judiciously followed up in respect to Hebrew, as it has been pursued by Dr. Valpy in respect to Greek, the charge of fancifulness will be repelled in one case as much as in the other.

#### N

Is this letter ever a monosyllabic root expressing unity? E. g. does  $\text{דָּן}$  signify, besides its other significations, ONE BLOOD? See Acts xvii. 26. and N in Simonis Lex. Heb.

N is certainly as in Greek *nota statús emphatici*. (Ibid.) In Chaldee it is used for  $\text{נ}$  at the end of nouns. In verbs, at the beginning, it denotes the future 1st person sing.

For N, in Greek, *Η* is often used, and so in the English word *reason*, from  $\text{רָשַׁן}$ , the root of which is  $\text{רָשַׁן}$  caput.

Hence the English *by*, which frequently gives the meaning better than the Greek *ἐν*. It signifies *two* in Hebrew, because, perhaps, that which is done by another implies that *two* are concerned. The same remark extends to  $\text{בְּ}$  and  $\text{בָּ}$ . Perhaps the English *buy* for the same reason may be derived from  $\text{בָּ}$  *two*.

#### T

May not this letter at the beginning of a word be sometimes

an abbreviation of the Chaldee article **ܐܢ** hæc, hoc, as in **ܐܢܬܐ** which in Chaldee means *solicitudo*, and the real root begin with **ܐ**, as in the Hebrew **אב** a father, **אכל** luctus, **אבוי** interfectio gementis?

ה

As *the* is put for *this* in English, so in Hebrew **ה** is an abbreviation of **הוא** hic, hæc, hoc. Now it is remarkable that the name *Euphrates* is formed, as Mr. Faber has shown, by combining and contracting into one word **הוא-פרת** Genesis ii. 14.

From **ה** may be derived the Aspirate H, which may originally have been intended, in derivative words, as a note of emphasis. So that both *Hu*, (**הוא**) and **ה** the aspirate H, may not really belong originally to the word the derivation of which we may be tracing.

We should also most carefully observe not only what particles were regularly incorporated in Hebrew into words, but also what may have been by mistake incorporated, as in *Euphrates*; which word leads us also to another observation, that there is frequently a transposition of letters in derivatives from Hebrew, which may sometimes have originated in the different modes of reading and writing used by the Orientals and Greeks. For the *Phrat* in *Euphrates* is in Hebrew *Part*. And this one word may further serve as a specimen of the numerous progeny which a single Hebrew term may have had in various languages, among which the name of the river **PRUTH** may be one. And it is worthy of observation that this river *Euphrates* has been the great parter of empires, as of ancient Babylon from the Holy Land; after which it became the limit of the Roman empire, and afterwards also of that of the Ottomans till the year 1301.

ה

A guttural transferred very variously into other languages.

כ

May be sometimes prefixed as a note of comparison.

כ

This letter forms the termination of the Chaldee plural in nouns, instead of **ם** Hebrew.

ע

The original sound of this letter is disputed, but the English word *wrong* is plainly the Hebrew **רע**, *monastery* is **מנען**, *mag-* is the same, *strong* **צר** Arab. *prostravit* (Simon.), *lingua* from **לע** lingo, *throng* perhaps from the Chaldee **תרע** a door, *minute*, **מעט**.

Perhaps the original sound of this and other letters might

be recovered, if their derivatives were collected in different languages, and the cause of the variation of the letters used for it traced to the powers of pronouncing sounds, in the nations to whom the several languages appertain.

By running through the words beginning with *y* in the Hebrew Lexicon, many more English words will readily appear derived from Hebrew ones having this letter in them; but I have not noticed that any Greek derivative admits the Ain pronounced as *ng* or *gn*. See עב, עח, עד, עה (knave), עט (a gnat) from מעט. עמר (to net), עיש (knight), ערג (glocito, to gargle?), ערס, ערס.

At the same time it should be noticed, that almost all the vowels are used in turn in the derivative languages for the Hebrew Ain; the cause of which should be ascertained in the several languages.

I need not observe that in case we adopt the hypothesis that the vowel points are not constituent parts of the language, we must direct the research in etymology accordingly.

Z is commonly used for this letter.

This letter may perhaps be sometimes, in derivatives, prefixed as an abbreviation of עש, who or which.

These observations may serve as specimens of some of the causes of variation in derivatives from Hebrew; but many more of the same kind of dialectical changes have been made in such words as do not come immediately to us from the Phenicians; as, for instance, if the word comes to us through the Latin or French, we may expect D for Th, and if the root begin with a vowel, the D before a vowel at the beginning of a word from the French, may be nothing more than the French article.

And thus much for etymology. It remains to point out some more important ends which may be attained by tracing up our own to that pure and inspired language, which, in the beginning, was communicated to our first parents, before they had fallen in knowlege from the image of Him that made them. The Hebrew is the word of God; and let it not be a light shining in darkness, and the darkness comprehend it not. Let the Greeks, says Josephus in effect to Apion, boast the elegance of their language; our boast is, that our language is the vehicle of TRUTH.

I would observe then, first, that the Hebrew Scriptures both in language and in matter consist of ANALOGIES, ἐκ προγινωσκομένων γὰρ πάντα ἡ διδασκαλία (Aristotle); and that these analogies are divinely revealed, in order that the things that are

not seen, may be known analogically by the things that are seen. (Rom. i, 20.)

In respect then to the terms by which the Hebrew Scriptures speak of invisible things, these uniformly in their first and primitive meaning and application, intend visible objects; the correspondence of which latter to the former, is from that authority which alone fully understands both. They are one and all from Him who pronounced, "If I have told you earthly things and you understand them not, how shall you understand if I shall tell you heavenly things? and no one hath ascended into heaven, but the Son of man who is in heaven."

On the contrary in uninspired languages, men professing themselves to be wise, or to understand invisible things, κατ' ἀλήθειαν, and despising the wisdom of God hidden from the foundation of the world in mysterious types and signs, have applied and appropriated unmeaning words to invisible things, of which, whatever they may fancy, they have no real knowledge whatever. "For eye hath not seen them, ear hath not heard them, neither hath it entered into the heart of man to conceive of them as they are."

We may therefore denominate all Hebrew words, signifying invisible things, typical words, or words which in their first intention *plainly denote* visible objects, and nothing else, to those who seeing the letter understand not the spirit.

In truth then, the Jews seek only a bare sign, the Gentiles seek only the thing signified by the sign; but what God hath joined together as body and soul, type and antitype, sign and thing signified, let not man put asunder. Here Hebrew is at issue with all other languages. But still further, the subject matter to which this divine language is adapted consists altogether of *analogies*. (See Bp Sherlock on the Intent of Prophecy.)

If we consider, for instance, the primitive promise that the Seed of the woman should bruise the serpent's head, following then the guidance of Bp. Sherlock, we shall find that the promised Seed is foreshadowed in his numerous offices and works, not by one, but by a vast succession of types, all necessary to complete in shadow the pleroma of his manifold operations, and the consummation of the restitution of all things.

The same observation extends to his antagonist, the prince of the power of the air, the ruler of the darkness of this world.

And yet, while each successive shadow affords, perhaps, some new specific character contributing to complete the entire picture, a generic correspondence harmonises them all, so that

one and the same prophecy shall apply to all alike, while the prophecy is so nicely worded as to fit in some sense and construction the peculiarities of each. And so complete is the divine revelation, that, to those who translate both closely and adequately, and harmonise words, sentences, sections, and all Scripture, the finger of God is displayed unequivocally in the discovery of the self-interpreting powers of divine revelation.

But so long as we regard the Bible as the work of men, and not as the work of God;—so long as we do not prove to the utmost the Apostles' rule, *Compare things inspired with inspired things*, so long the light, I repeat, shineth in darkness, and the darkness comprehendeth it not.

I have now ventured my opinion respecting both the Hebrew chronology and the Hebrew language: respecting the Hebrew chronology, that it still stands unshaken and greatly confirmed by Sir W. D.; and respecting the Hebrew language, that it is the pure fountain-head of all the degenerate languages of the world. The Hebrew chronology is opposed sometimes by that of the Samaritan Pentateuch, by that of the Septuagint, and by that of Josephus. It is vindicated by Shukford and Davies, and, as far as I am any judge, most satisfactorily. And I much regret that some excellent men, in rejecting the Hebrew chronology, have not more fairly and fully stated the *pros* and *cons* on both sides, which is the *grand desideratum* at this time.

I regret also that they have so far failed in penetration and judgment, as to prefer versions and commentators to the Hebrew text; a blunder which will one day class them under the head of those who preferred a dark lantern to the meridian sun. Had they applied themselves to the concordance with the same diligence with which they have applied to the ancient versions, they might have discovered and testified to a sceptical generation, that the comparison of things spiritual with spiritual to the utmost, before human helps be called in, is the only rational and revealed key of Scripture, as Bp. Horsley has testified in his Sermon on the Resurrection. But we live in sceptical times; and in the same proportion as our belief of the inspiration of Scripture has declined, our insight into the proper mode of explaining Scripture, and our doctrinal views of its meaning, have correspondently degenerated from the standard of the Reformation.

In the mean time, while we have slept, the enemy has sown his tares; so that when for the time we ought to be teachers, it is necessary that one tell us what be the first principles of the oracles of God, and what the key of knowledge.

What those tares are which constitute the perils of the last



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days, succeeding to the superstition of the last times, any one may easily discover, who wishes so to do, by comparing 1 Tim. iii. 14. to the end of ch. iv., for the corruptions of the Faith, and 2 Tim. iii. for the destruction of the Faith itself by a transition from *Plus* over the happy mean of rectitude *Par*, to the opposite extreme of *Minus*.

The *Corrective* revealed to us, *while we have the light*, is described in 1 Tim. iii. 14—17. where we should do well to note what is generally necessary to salvation even in the case of children; and what is necessary, that *the Man of God* may be thoroughly furnished unto all good works. For *all* good works, *all* Scripture is required; and therefore let him who neglects any one part of revelation upon any plea, or sets up one part against another, be warned of the consequence of adding to and diminishing from the word which shall judge him at the Last Day.\* Rev. xxii.

I. M. B.

P.S. In confirmation of my former paper, I beg leave to add the following extract from Jackson's Chronology, Vol. ii. p. 341. "Another argument to prove that Sethos and Sesostris lived at the same time may be drawn from the conquest of Media and Assyria, which were then two distinct kingdoms. This must have been before the Assyrian empire was extended over the Upper Asia, and had Media subject to it, which was in the year before Christ 1230, according to Herodotus, who says that the Assyrians ruled over all Upper Asia 520 years before the Medes revolted from them. This revolt happened upon the destruction of the army of Sennacherib, 710 years before the Christian æra. So the Assyrians had conquered all the Upper Asia 1230 years before this æra." This computation very nearly approaches to that which I have supposed to be intended in the 13th chapter of the Apocalypse retrospectively considered in respect to Assyria as a type; for if we reckon the 42 months there as containing 1260 days, intending so many years, they will terminate very nearly during the ministry of our Lord. I had not observed this place in Jackson when I wrote my former paper. I would further suggest a query respecting the 2300 evening and morning of Daniel viii. This number is sometimes taken for 2300 days i.e. years, and sometimes for 2300 evening and morning sacrifices offered up in 1150 days i.e. years. Now I lay it down as a first principle in the computation of the periods mentioned in the Old Testament, that whatever further they might intend, they all had a termination in specimen on the day of Pentecost, and with them all Old Testa-

ment prophecy had a sample of completion, or first-fruits, as stated in the 8th of the Romans. May not these numbers then 1150 and 1150 have denoted the times of the superiority of Asia and Egypt over Europe, and then of Europe over Asia and Egypt? Need we be reminded of Ægeus, the golden fleece, and Alexander, in respect to Europe; or of Jupiter Hammon, or Ham, in respect to Egypt and Asia?

I lay no stress upon such imaginations, but I state them because they may possibly lead to a source of information little thought of; and if they do not, no harm is done while they are proposed with diffidence and a good intention. I would only add, that their epoch may have been the corruption of the true religion at Babel.

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## CLASSICAL CRITICISM.

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Mr. Editor,

Aberdeen, 27th April, 1826.

The 65th Number of the Classical Journal has just reached me, and in compliance with your hints to Correspondents, I have transcribed the Criticism from Scheller, which I shall be glad to see inserted in your next number.

A CONSTANT READER.

*"Imm. Jo. Gerh. Schelleri Observationes in priscos Scriptorum quosdam. Lipsiæ, sumtibus Cusp. Fritsch, 1785." Pag. 320.*

1 CORINTH. xv. 29. Hic est ille decantatissimus locus de *baptizatione super mortuos*. In quo explicando etsi interpretes ita desudarunt, ut explicationum multitudine obrutus fere ille gemat, tamen sibi nondum satisfactum esse judicant intelligentes. Nolo illas repetere, a Wolfio aliisque operose recensitas. Pleræque nimis quæsitæ videntur. Nonnullas recentiorum non vidi, ut de iis judicare nequeam. Equidem aliam, licet novam (ut saltem credo) tamen et contextui et linguæ indoli egregie convenientem, hic proponam. Judicent peritiores. Neque enim eam cuiquam conor obtrudere. Nempe Paulus, ostensus Christum in vitam vere redisse, utitur his argumentis: si Christus cruci olim adfixus non redisset in vitam (1) v. 17. religionem Christianam esse vanam, nisi testimonio humano, non divino (Christus enim tum fuisset merus homo), atque

Christianos adhuc premi culpa peccatorum : (2) v. 18. eos, qui e Christianis adhuc mortui essent, *plane perisse* : id quod refellit v. 19—28. Jam uti v. 18. de jam mortuis dixerat, sic (3) v. 29. de iis loquitur qui adhuc Christiani fiant aut in posterum futuri sint : eos ait frustra labores molestos ærumnasque suscipere, si Christus in vitam non redisset : idque deinde v. 30 et seq. in se ipsum transfert. Hæc de contextu universo. Versum ipsum nunc explicemus : (1) *τί* non puto esse accusativum, qui a *ποιήσουσιν* regatur (id quod omnes interpretes, quotquot equidem vidi, statuunt), sed significare *cur*, intellecto *διὰ*, ut Latinorum *quid?* quæ est res nota. (2) *ποιεῖν* explico *laborare, labores suscipere*, præsertim *molestos*, intellecto forsitan *ἔργον*; ex Hebr. *עָמַל* quod sic occurrit Ruth. 11. 19. Hagg. 11.

4. ubi a LXX interpretibus vertitur per *ποιεῖν*; sicque *ποιεῖν* est Matth. xx. 12. de *opus facientibus in vinea*, qui labor est molestus : sicque forsau explicari debet in omnibus locis, in quibus vulgo vertitur *commorari*, v. c. Actor. xv. 33. xviii. 23. xx. 3. intell. *ἔργον* ut supra monui; maxime vero huc pertinet 2 Corinth. xi. 25. *ἐν τῷ βυθῷ ἠπολήκα*; ubi *ἠπολήκα* commo- dissime explicatur *ærumnas suscepi*. Neque igitur in hoc loco (1 Cor. xv. 29.) opus est pro *ποιήσουσιν* legere *πνήσουσιν*, quod initio putabam : quanquam hæc mutatio lenissima foret. Si quis tamen hic malit legere *πνήσουσιν*, equidem non repugnare- rim. (3) *οἱ βαπτίζόμενοι* sunt, *qui adhuc baptizantur* (nam verbum servare lubet) h. e. qui adhuc Christiani fiunt. Hi oppo- nuntur *τοῖς* jam *κοιμηθεῖσι* v. 18. (4) post *βαπτίζόμενοι* pono sig- num interrogationis. (5) *ὑπὲρ* sumo vi solenni *propter*. (6) *νεκρῶν* explico mortuos (physice), ita tamen, ut Christus præ- cipue intelligatur. Nempe non cum Oleario puto, pluralem hic pro singulari poni, quæ enallage arctioribus limitibus coër- cenda est. Neque enim, cum v. c. alicui *unum librum misi* di- cere possum : *misi ei libros* cet. At si quis ob unum librum amissum vehementer doleat, possum dicere : *quis ob libros amissos tantopere doleat?* *Wer wird sich wegen Bücher so sehr betrüben?* Tunc solet eratio, ad indicandam rei indig- nitatem ab individuo ad speciem vel genus transferri, ita tamen ut ad individuum illud maxime respiciatur. Sic prisci semper. Sic Lucian. in dialog. mortuor. 10. Hannibal ait, *Alexandrum* se in conviviis inquinasse credibus amicorum, cum de uno tamen Clito id factum constet. Verba sunt p. 37. Ed. Hemsterh. καὶ ἐπαιφόνει ἐν τοῖς συμπόσις τοῦς φί- λους ἐστ. Sic Virgil. Æn. vii. 359. ubi Amata, uxor Latini, indignans, quod Lavinia filia, desponsa jam Turno, *Æneæ* ex- sulis nuptum detur, ait : *Exsulibusne datur ducenda Lavinia*

*Teucris, O genitos?* ubi *exsulibus Teucris*. dictum est pro *exsuli Teucro* i. e. *Æneæ*. Sic ibid. x. 79. *Quid socero legere et gremiis abducere pactas?* Ubi tamen de uno socio et de una *pacta* (i. e. *Lavinia*) sermo est. Sic *Terent. Andr.* v. 3, 20. *Simo filio iratus ait: Domus, uxor, liberi inrenti* (i. e. *adquisiti*) *sunt sine patre*; ubi *liberi* pro *infante uno* positum est. Ibid. v. 4, 7. *Tunc hic homines adolescentulos imperitos rerum, eductos libere, in fraudem illicis?* Per *adolescentulos* intelligitur *Pamphilus*. Saltem de hoc tantum sciebat vel potius credebat *Simo*, non de pluribus *adolescentulis*. Eodem modo *Christus* proprie quidem non dici potest *νεκρὸς* in plurali; at si quis ponat, *Christum mortuum vere esse*, nec deinde in vitam redisse, is, ad indignationem indicandam possit dicere: *quis ob mortuos suscipiat labores?* Verto itaque hunc locum: *Cur ii, qui nunc baptizantur*, h. e. *ceteri Christiani*, (qui opponuntur mortuis jam v. 18.) *laborabunt, s. labores ærumnasque suscipient?* propter mortuos, si mortui place in vitam non redeunt, atque ita nec *Christus rediit?* Notetur articulum τῶν non debere necessario definiti quid notare: sic et *Hebræi*: He articuli, quod vocatur, sæpe indefinite ponunt. (7) post βαπτίζονται itidem pono signum interrogationis, uti est post posterius νεκρῶν. Totum versum sic fere verterim vernacule: *Wenn dem nicht so ist (ἐνταῦθα) nämlich dass Christus auferstanden, warum wollen denn die itzigen Christen (s. die noch itzt getauft werden und im Begriffe sind, Christen zu werden) sich so viel Mühe geben, so viel Arbeit, Strapparen und Noth über sich nehmen? Etwa um todter Leute willen, wenn Verstorbenegar nicht wieder auferstehen? Warum lassen sie sich denn auch taufen? Etwa um todter Leute willen?* Sensus puto planus est. Interrogatio ὑπὲρ νεκρῶν repetita docet, ridicule stulteque eum agere, qui labores ærumnasque in hac vita atque etiam baptismum ob mortuos, qui non in vitam redierint, h. e. ob meros homines suscipiat, a quibus nihil præmii post hanc vitam propterea expectare possit. Καὶ infert gradationem, estque adeo. Possit etiam post prius νεκρῶν poni signum interrogationis: *etwa um todter Leute willen? wenn nun die Todten gar nicht wieder auferstehen?* Oratio sic crescit. Ceterum huic explicationi versus sequens egregie convenit, ubi *Paulus* ait: *cur etiam vos* (h. e. *ego*) *pericula subimus* cet. ut adeo quod v. 29. de aliis Christianis tum viventibus dixerat, id v. 30. et seqq. de se speciatim dicat. Linguae indoli singula respondent. Vocabula capiuntur notionibus notis. Interpunctiones mutare, quod unum fecimus, liberum utique est, ut quas a *Paulo* non profectas esse hodie nemini religioni est credere.

DE LEGIBUS METRICIS  
POËTARUM GRÆCORUM,

QUI VERSIBUS HEXAMETRIS SCRIPSERUNT,

DISPUTATIO:<sup>1</sup>

CONTEXUIT

GILBERTUS WAKEFIELD.

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— Det primos versibus annos,  
Mæoniumque bibat felici pectore fontem.—PETRON.

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QUUM diu jam sit, Lectores φιλομυσοι! ex quo nova exemplaria poëtarum saltem primariorum, qui carmine heroico inter Græcos inclaruerint, molitus essem divulgare; et in animum mihi quotidie suavissimos hosce humani ingenii proventus ruminanti multæ cogitationes incurrerent, quæ nonnihil commodi atque delectamenti elegantissimis studiis allaturæ viderentur; quærere occæpi, quo modo via brevior ac faciliior ad hoc inceptum complanari posset, ne annotationes meæ, in singulos auctores elaboratæ, subinde spatiosius evagarentur. Hæc adeo mecum replicans, persensi me multum temporis et tædii compendifactorum esse tam ipsi, quam legentibus, si, unam et alteram, generales regulas, aut veras, aut vero proximas, excogitare valuissem; ad quas, idoneorum exemplorum copiâ satis communitas illustratasque, majore cum fructu, nec sine molestâ minus interpellatione, doctior identidem amandaretur. Nam, meo quidem judicio, nisi hujuscemodi quædam opes subsidiariæ auxiliarentur nobis, post repetitas doctissimorum virorum in hoc curriculo exercitationes, sumus supervacaneas fere curas impensuri. Nonnullæ hoc genus regulæ mihi videntur observatæ, prioribus criticis aut ignoratæ prorsus, aut per nebulas atque spatiosam intercapedinem visæ potius, quam perspectæ et exploratæ. Opus arduum ingredior, intricatum, atque periculosum, nec cavillationibus hominum maligniorum non obnoxium: non me passus sum tamen difficultatibus operis repelli, quum candidos etiam judices et favitores æquos nacturum esse minime desperem, quorum et eruditio mores ornet, et vicissim mores commendent eruditionem. De me ac lucubrationibus meis quid alii sentiant, insuper habeo, et digitulum non vorterim.

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<sup>1</sup> We readily comply with the wishes of many of our readers, in the insertion of this Essay. A few copies only were printed, and those were neither published nor sold.

We adopt Mr. W.'s system of printing Greek without accents. We deprecate that system; but he has an important body of supporters of it,—the Compositors.

1. DE HIATIBUS, sive hiulcâ vocalium literarum ac diphthongorum inter se concursione, primordia opusculi disceptabunt.

Hiatus scilicet in carminibus eruditissimum quemvis editorem omnifariam deludicavisse comperi, quasi legitimis et concedendis passim indulgentem: quos tamen fuuditus delendos censeam, atque ex areolis poetarum radicitus evellendos. Enimvero, ut confictæ super hac regulâ disceptationes dilucidiorẽ tramite progrediantur, in partes suas argumentum nostrum tribuamus; nec conducibile non erit confessa quædam et manifesta præmisisse.

1. Diphthongus et vocalis longa produci interdum solent in cæsura; sive quoties primam pedis syllabam efficiant. Exempli gratiâ, in primo pede versûs:

Η εθελεῖς αὐτος μὲν —; Il. O. 132.

Quum vero rarissima sint hoc genus in principio carminis exempla; nisi ubi vel aspera litera sequatur, pronomini aut relativi in primis, cujus rationes speciales actutum expedire inceptabimus, ut,

Καὶ οἱ ἀεὶ δριμύεια χολὰ —: Theoc. i. 18.

vel pronomen aut relativum, cui iota subscriptum sit; ut

Τῷ ἐνὶ καρπῷ ἐστὶ: Arat. phæn. 543.

vel, denique, vocabulo sequente cui digamma præfigebatur; ut

Καὶ ἔπεια νηφαδεύει —: Il. Γ. 222.

sunt ideo, ut plurimum, suspiciose admittenda, et in quibusdam scriptura tutior omnino, ni fallimur, admitti debet. Sic in his,

Η ἤδη κῆκείνον ἐνὶ —,

Η ἐτι καὶ πλεονεσσιν: Il. Π. 648. 651.

me hortatore, semper apostrophos adhibeatur; ut H' ἤδη—H' ἐτι: in utroque pro He: quibus cognata passim veniunt.

Hinc in transitu nemdam absfergamus cognatam illis, quibuscum versamur, ex Od. Υ. 317.

Τεθναμεν, ἡ ταδε αἰὲν αἰκεα ἐργ' ὄρασθαι.

Verissime emendabis reponendo: HE TAD' αἰεν—.

Nec tacendum est, exemplorum talium infrequentiam facere, ut vel diphthongo in quibusdam leviter diffidamus; ut Arat. dios. 229.

Ἐν ἐφθειρισσαντο, καὶ ἐκρῶξαν μαλα φωνῇ.

et parum absimus, quin versiculum tibicine injecto suffulciendum esse existimemus ad Theocritei normam carminis, id. vii. 7.

Ἐν γ' ἐνερεῖσάμενος πέτρα γονυ —.

2. In secundo pedẽ carminis: ut

Δινεὺς οφιούχον: Arat. phæn. 81.

sed et hoc parum frequens, nisi sensus ibi pausâ suspendatur, aut illa speciatim locum habeant, quæ dudum exceperimus.

3. In tertio pede versûs: ut

Η ἐτι καὶ χρυσὸν ἐπιδεῦσαι: Il. B. 229.

Ἐν δε τε οἱ ζωνῇ εὐφραγγεὸς Ὠρίωνος: Arat. phæn. 517.

qui locus carminis, sicut vel puerulis probe cogitum, in syllabis naturâ suâ brevibus porrigendis ferme validissimam virtutem solet exercere; neque minus in Latinis poetis, quam in Græcis.

## 4. In quarto ut Il. Σ. 19.

Πενσεαι αγγελιης, ἢ μὴ ωφέλλε γενεσθαι.

Αὐτον πηγνυμενη νιφετου επιτεκμηραιο: Arat. dios. 306.

## 5. In quinto denique; ut Arat. dios. 216. qui in eodem versu specimen dabit etiam productæ diphthongi in primâ secundi pedis:

Η τρυζει ορθρινον ερημαιη ολολνγων.

Vis hujusce cæsurae vel major invenitur, quantum ex frequentia judicare liceat, quam pedis tertii; adeo ut etiam brevi vocali par sit ante vocalem producenda. Sic in Hom. hymn. Cer. 248.

Τεκνον Δημοφων, ξεινη σε πυρι ενι πολλω — :

de hac autem peculiariter in sequentibus.

His de conditionibus si quidam eximantur, hiatus, alibi in carmine occurrentes, scripturam vitiosam indicant, et opis criticæ indigentem, nisi quod duplex aliud genus licentiarum invenerim, quæ omnino videntur poetis heroicis condonandæ, et quarum causas si dicam me detexisse, crimen arrogantiae non extimescam.

1. Ut Il. Π. 734. Σκαιη εγχος εχων —. X. 199. 'Ως δ' εν ονειρω ου δυναται —. Ψ. 191. Σκληη αμφι περι χραη —. Quint. Cal. iv. 519. Καπνω, η ὀμιχλη, εναλιγκιος —. Adeas etiam Od. Α. 187. Φ. 400.

Quum tale non observaverim, nisi in syllabis iota subscriptum habentibus, concipias velim, sic exaratam dictionem, uti in exemplo primo, ΣΚΑΙΗΙ εγχος; ut iota elidatur, et longa vocalis maneat.

2. Ubi pausa longior ob interquiescentem sensum fit, et orationis cursum interruptum, non longæ vocales solummodo, sed etiam breves interim, producuntur. Huc referam Il. B. 253. H. 31.

Η' εν, ηε κακως, νοστησομεν νιες Αχαιων:

Ιλιον εὐρωσι· επει ὡς φιλον επλετο θυμῳ —.

Ne tamen finalis et lepidi nimis fautores hic cornicentur, et somnium suum ex eburneâ portâ mihi in os gannientes oggerant, tales ineptias necesse est prævertamus, monendo nullam syllabam, cum brevi consonante exeuntem, præter unam syllabam os, certe produci in his carminibus ne quidem per cæsurae vim: uti suo tempore probabiliter demonstratum dabimus. Enimvero minime dissimulem sic commodè satis rescribi versiculum posse, nec cum veri nullâ similitudine, tam quia scribæ nobis passim propinent has terminationes non suo loco, neglectis elisionibus, quam quia syllabæ, finalem et admittentis, positura similis singulariter sit infrequens:

Ιλιον εὐρωσι· επει ὡς φιλον επλετο θυμῳ:

vide Il. Φ. 104. de poetarum utriusque linguæ in propriis nominibus usu perquam libidinoso.

Idem statuo de Il. Α. 578. M. 320. Od. Φ. 433. et consimilibus paucis in Homero. Vide Hesiod. opp. 74. Theocr. ii. 144. Accedat etiam Aratus in phæn. 74.

Σκεπτερ παρ κεφαλην οφιουχον· εκ δ' αρ' εκεινης:—

ubi tamen magis probem, si per apographa liceret, κεφαλην οφιουχον· ut inferius ver. 487. οφιουχου ωμοι. Addo Orph. Arg. 765.

'Ως οι μιν τα εκαστα πονηητο· αυταρ Ιημερ —.

His apponas Quint. Cal. ix. 430.

Δορπον εὖν τεύξαντο μεμαοσι· ἐν δε και αυτοι—.

Talia utique sine codicibus jam nolim sollicitare: videas me ad Moschum, iv. 68. Illis saltem lectoribus, quibus rationes meae non improbarentur, minus offensionis habebunt loca satis multa in hymnis veterum, hiatibus hoc genus abundantia. Sic Hom. hymn. Cer. 54.

Ποτνιά Δημητηρ, ὠρηφορε, ἀγλαοδωρε.

Apud Orpheum, quem vocant, in primis. Sic hymn. iii. 7.

**Κυανοχρως, αδαμαστε, παναιολε, αιολομορφε:**

ubi vicinarum dictionum consimilis notio locum pravitatis arguit.  
Emendandum puto:

**Κυανοχρως, αδαμαστε, παναιωλε, ΑΓΛΑΟΜΟΡΦΕ.**

Sic II. A. 532. αἰγληετος Ολυμπον' et alia consimilia: nec multum abludit Nouiā paraphrasis ad finem:

οὐδὲ καὶ αὐτὸν

**Ελπομαι ΑΓΛΑΟΜΟΡΦΟΝ ατερμονα ΚΟΣΜΟΝ αειραι.**

Idem Orpheus, hymn. xiii. 8. de Rhea :

Εκ σου γὰρ καὶ γαῖα, καὶ οὐρανὸς ἐνυψὺς ὑπέρθε.

Και πορτος, πνoιαι τε' φιλοδρoμe, αερομορφε.

Emaculem: ΦΙΑΟΒΡΟΜΕ, ΟΥΡΕΟΦΟΙΤΕ: sed in his levifidis  
 senioris ævi, ut putem, lusionibus nunc immorari minus convenit.  
 Iisdem insuper accenseas Hesiod. Theog. 423. Il. I. 238. Ω. 52.  
 Od. Ε. 41. 69. Ο. 326. Π. 195. Nec tamen laudem Brunckium,  
 qui sponte numerum harum anomaliarum valde insuavium novā  
 de suis cumulaverit ad Apoll. R. ii. 119. Adde epig. Pallad. ver.  
 3. in Auth. Steph. p. 210. Nicæa, ver. 1. p. 249. ne plura con-  
 geram.

Interea vero lectorem certiores faciamus, nos in hac disputatione nullam fere propriorum noninum rationem habuisse, utpote qui clarissime perspicimus, metricæ disciplinæ leges non ibi sedulo conservari, sed omnia indifferenter et indisposite pro libitu gesta reperiri: nec cujusvis paginæ pulvisculus non valuerit editorum motus comprimere de Ἀγυπτιους, Ἰστιάην, et ejusdem farinae Musarum terculamentis, haud sine tumultu perridiculo temeriter restuantium. Homerum nihilominus demirari soleo, qui vocalem brevem ante duas consonantes parcius corripit, toties ingerentem lectoribus.

— ὃ ἐδωκε Κρονου παῖς ἀγκυλομητεω,

vel levi cum variatione; dum in patulo jacebat verborum invicem commigratio,

— ὃ ἐδωκε παῖς Κρονου ἀγκυλομητεω.

De nonnullis autem præstiterit fortassis ignorantiam profiteri, ac vanis inquisitionibus supersedere.

Interea, res ipsa clamat, hiatus omnes, qui diphthongis et longis vocalibus ex rei metricæ legibus non concedantur, multo minus in brevibus vocatibus tolerari posse: hanc autem monitionem



prius habuimus ponendam, quam de regulæ nostræ speculâ immensum pravarum scriptorum in poëtis numerum contemplerur; ac nonnullas ex illis eligamus, quibus hoc etiam tempore medicinam felici manu, nisi vanissimâ persuasione delusi simus, opportune admovebimus.

Ab HOMERO, leporum omnium olûm repertore atque architecto, eheu! nunc dierum, nec citra summum priscarum literarum detrimentum et elegantiorum hominûm infortunia, maculis obsolescentis colorato, atque omnium promptuario corruptelarum, conatus salutiferos ordiamur. Ad Il. E. 142.

Ανταρ ὁ ἐμμεμαῶς βαθεὺς ἐξάλλεται ὕλης:

certissime reponam, Ανταρ ὁ Γ' ἐμμεμαῶς: vide modo B. 667. Γ. 328. et alios locos plurimos, quos poëtæ lectio melius monstrabit. Eadem operâ corrigas Il. B. 107. uti nimirum Julianus citat, p. 51. A. 333. Γ. 379. Θ. 271. Od. T. 231. Υ. 1. ut centum saltem similes depravationes, in medio jacentes, quas lectori semel monito coram sistere nihil attinet, molestiam supervacaneam perosi, prætermittamus. Verumtamen haud intempestivus videar, si significem, hanc literulæ communionem Homero placuisse in pronomine etiam si literæ quædam asperæ subsequerentur, ut in Od. Υ. 140.

Ανταρ ὁ γ', ὡς τις παμπαν οἰζυρος καὶ αποτμος—.

Alia autem monstra, paribus portentis plena, profigemus. Ita mea exemplaria ad Il. A. 532.

Εἰς ἄλα αλγο βαθειαν ἀπ' αἰγληντος Ολυμπον.

Manifestior macula versiculum nullum inquinat; cui tamen abludendæ pares sumus. Rescripserimus,

Εἰς ἈΛΑΔ' αλγο βαθειαν—.

Quam pronum fuerit illi fugitivo Δ inter tot simili formâ literas elabi, ΑΛΑΔΑΛ, cuivis obvium. Neque non compertum habeo, quid librariis imposuerit. Imaginabantur utique, particulam δε, quum sic posita præpositionis officio fungatur, consociatam ejusdem potentiae præpositionem respiciasse. Perperam omnino. Sic Od. K. 351.

Εκ θ' ἱερῶν, ποταμῶν, οἷτ' Εἰς ἈΛΑΔΕ προρεονσι.

Similis menda, ex eodem sordido fonte scaturiens, maculat sædisimo hiatu Il. Ω. 696.

Οἱ δ' ἐς αὖτν ἐλὼν οἰμῶγῃ τε, στοναχῇ τε:

ubi reponendum affirmaverim, haud dubiâ emendatione,

Οἱ δ' ἐς ΑΣΤΥΔ' ἐλὼν—.

Locus est difficilioris aggressionis in Il. B. 87.

Ἡὺρ' ἐθνεα εἰσι μελίσσων ἀδιων—.

Ita laudat Etym. Mag. 319, 13. sed paullo aliter in 31, 29. mendose in utroque loco. Tu refingas mecum velim certissimâ quidem conjecturâ.

1 "Nasuto lectori" sane displicuerit duplex δ'. Notum solvet digamma.

Hūte ΕΘΝΕ' ΙΑΣΙ μελισσῶν ἀδινῶν :  
quā formā usus est in Π. 160.

Και τ' ἀγέληδον ΙΑΣΙΝ ἀπο κρήνης μελανδρον.  
Interea nasuti lectores statim perspicient ex his modo positis exemplis, me digamma præponendum existimare vocibus *ασυ* et *εθνεα* quod semel monuisse jam sufficiat, quoniam huic argumento secundam atque singularem dissertationem destinavimus.

B. 90. sic, ut editus est versiculus, legitur etiam in Etym. M. 64, 49. ad hanc normam :

Αἱ μὲν τ' ἐνθά ἄλις πεποτηγato, αἱ δὲ τε ἐνθα  
quo hiatu monstrosiorem nullum vidi ; editores tamen hunc, et mille alios æque portentosos, animis atque auribus æquis, patientissimi vivorum hominum, tulerunt. In periculo videtur versari poëta summus, sed facili manu statim extricabimus, et in tuto collocabimus, retrahendo omnium longe fugacissimum vocabulum :

Αἱ μὲν τ' ἐνθα ἄλις πεποτηγται, 'ΑΙΔΕ ΔΕ Τ' ἐνθα.  
Sic Od. O. 198. Ἦδε δ' ὁδός : 391. αἶδε δε νυκτες : 545. Τονδε δ' ἐγώ. Ad hujusce loci vitium, in Il. B. 236. pro τονδε, Florentina editio princeps habet τον. Confer E. 238. Φ. 155.

Ad ver. 621. vulgaria dant exemplaria,

Υἱες, ὁ μὲν Κτεατον, ὁ δὲ Εὐρυτον Ἀκτοριωνος.  
Sed non sic erat negligenter acturus et *αμουσις*, vel in propriis nominibus, tersissimis auribus poëta, nullā necessitate coactus. Dedit nimirum peculiari pausâ versum, de quâ nos actutum disseremus :

Υἱες, ὁ μὲν ΚΤΕΑΤΟΙΟ, ὁ Δ' Εὐρυτον Ἀκτοριωνος.

Hoc remedium sanabit Il. Ψ. 431. ubi libri *διακου* :

'Οσσα δε ΔΙΣΚΟΙ' οὐρα κατωμαδιοιο πελονται.  
Neque aliter sublevem Aratum, dios. 21. pro *φαεινον*.

Εἴνεα καὶ δεκα κυκλα ΦΑΕΙΝΟΙ' η̅λιοιο.

Sic malim castigatum Il. K. 505. Sequenti libro, Γ. v. 220.

Φαιης κε Ζακοτον τινα ἐμμεναι, ἀφρονα θ' αὐτως :  
quo quid turpius in poësi bellulorum oculis obversari potest ? Rescribendum,

Φαιης κε Ζακοτον τινα Τ' ἐμμεναι, ἀφρονα θ' αὐτως :  
ζακοτον τε, ἀφρονα τε. Ex tripode est. Sin autem malis, referre poteris τε ad τινα : ut A. 8. B. 292. et passim. Nihil, aut parum, interest.

Ἀσπιδι ἐν κρατερῇ : ver. 349.

Nihil insincerus et injucundius inveni ; sed ita, ut sanandi via cuius pateat. Restituo, ut insuper ad P. 45.

ΑΣΠΙΔ' ΕΝΙ κρατερῇ.

Familiares nostro est sic in dativo elidere iota : videas E. 5. de quo plura dicendi dabitur etiam occasio in sequentibus. Eandem medelam paro, ut faciam Il. H. 272. ubi vulgatur *Ἀσπιδι ἐγχρημφθειε*. Vere et eleganter restituerim : ΑΣΠΙΔ' ΕΝΙΧΡΗΜΦΘΕΙΣ : adeas modo P. 405. Illud ἐν extrusit ἐνι saltem millies ex libris poëtarum.

In poëmatis Antipatri, apud Steph. Anthol. p. 279. pro Ψυχα εν στερννις, verissime reposueris Ψυχα ENI στερννοις—. Il. Δ. 2. certum fuerit, Χρυσεω ENI δαπεδω: ut quoque Ω. 285. Od. Γ. 41. O. 149. Χρυσεω ENI δεπαϊ: hæc enim medullitis Homerea: v. Il. A. 15. Γ. 152. K. 304. ni malis magis spondaicum: Εν δεπαϊ χρυσεω ut Od. Υ. 261. uam, si vellet χρυσεω trisyllabum, scripserat ad Il. A. 15. Χρυσεω αν σκηπτρω: unde præferam, in Od. Δ. 627. P. 169. Τυκτω ENI δαπεδω. Novimus quid malorum suaserit de metro religiosus timor.—Aratus sublevandus, dios. 287.

ΑΥΤΗ ENI χωρη νεφελαι:

vulgo, Αυτη εν χωρη: sed medicatus ei adhibitus ex abundante est certissimus, quum probaturi sumus inferius hos poëtas semper spondæis prætulisse dactylos, nisi metri lex, aut caussa quædam gravior, reniteretur: nec nostræ regulæ, quod semel admonemus, non erunt sibi in plurimis et luci et firmamento. Similiter agam ad Il. X. 286.

Χαλκεον, ως δη μιν σφ ENI χοῖ παρ κομισαιο.

Neque cum minore veri persuasione, in Nicând. Ther. 674.

Κανθω ENI ραντηρι τυπην ανεδεξαι εν χειρὶς.

Exemplar meum habet εν: ut Q. Calabri, viii. 357. vitiose procul dubio:

Παλλας ENI πεδιω Τρωων μενεν—.

Neque ambigam, quin scribendum sit ad Od. Z. 8.

ΕΙΣΕ δ' ENI Σχεριη—:

ob suaviorem et agiliorem dactylum, pro vulgato, Εισεν δ' εν Σχεριη, spondæis colligato. Illud finale ν, ineptissime passim inculcatum, vitiositati occasionem præbuit.

[To be continued.]

## NOTICE OF

### NUMISMATA ORIENTALIA ILLUSTRATA.

*The Oriental Coins ancient and modern of his Collection, described and historically illustrated by WILLIAM MARSDEN, F. R. S. &c. &c. with numerous plates from Drawings made under his inspection. In two Parts, 4to. Part I. published in 1823. Part II. 1825.*

It is our intention to recommend very strongly the work here announced, when we declare it worthy of the high literary character which its accomplished author has already acquired by various publications, more particularly his excellent History of

Sumatra; his Grammar and Dictionary of the Mahayan Language; and his translation and admirable illustrations of Marco Polo's Travels. To those who undertake the laborious task of describing and explaining Oriental coins, whether ancient or modern, so many qualifications are necessary, that we have never been surprised on discovering errors in the numismatic works even of celebrated writers. To an intimate knowledge of Eastern languages, and a facility in deciphering the most abstruse inscriptions, must be united a perfect acquaintance with the history and geography of Asia. There are, probably, among our readers, some who would scarcely believe that whole hours, nay days, (and even nights, to the great detriment of weak eyes,) are sometimes employed in overcoming the difficulties presented by a single word, or the intricate combination of a few letters; the name, perhaps, of some place long since fallen to decay; the title assumed by some prince of an obscure dynasty; or characters expressing a date. \* Even the coins struck by many an illustrious caliph (or more properly *khalifah*) are not without such difficulties; for their inscriptions in the Arabic character, denominated *Cufic*, (from the city of *Cufah*,) exhibit frequently a series of letters almost exactly resembling each other in form, and destitute of those diacritical points which serve to assist the reader of Arabic manuscripts or printed books. Over all such impediments Mr. Marsden has triumphed in the work before us; describing a numismatic collection exclusively consisting of Oriental coins, or pieces of money impressed with Oriental characters; comprehending not merely those of Asia generally; but also of the Mohammedan kingdoms and states, formerly or at present existing in Africa and Europe: of this collection the early Arabian or Cufic series constitute, without doubt, the most interesting portion; and it appears (from the Introduction) that they had chiefly belonged to the cabinet of Sir Robert Ainslie, who resided many years at Constantinople, as the ambassador of his Britannic Majesty. The following account, written in answer to Mr. Marsden's inquiry, is given in the late Sir Robert's own words. "L'Abbé Beauchamp, a man of letters and uncommon ability, well versed in ancient literature, after many years' residence at Rome, and travelling in Turkey, Arabia, and some part of Persia, was, through the influence of the French Government, named titular bishop of Bagdad, and, under M. de Sartines (ministre de la marine,) appointed consul-general at that place. After he had resided there about two years, the bishop, his secretary, and two French domestics, were carried off by the plague in the year 1779 or 1780; when his

effects were supposed to have been plundered by his Armenian servants or interpreters; at least nothing of value, excepting his correspondence, was found by a French agent despatched from Smyrna upon the news of his death, to whom I applied for a preference in the purchase of his coins, reported to be particularly interesting. It was afterwards, however, that by means of an Armenian merchant at Bagdad, I procured a considerable number, most probably of the late bishop's collecting, together with a few Persian engraved stones, and some other works of art. Among the coins were many Parthian, Cufic, Persian, and old Turkish, not unfrequently found in the environs of Bagdad, Kerkat, Maradine, and other places on the frontier of Turkey and Persia. From thence were the greater part of the Cufic coins now in Mr. Marsden's collection; the rest came from different parts of Asia, where they were procured by my agents, indiscriminately with Greek and Roman, from the people who discovered them, by the payment of a premium beyond their intrinsic value, which prevented their being melted."

—(p. vi.) The Greek and Roman medals here mentioned, were sold to those two eminent collectors, Lord Northwick and the late Mr. Payne Knight; and the Cufic, in 1805, became the property of our ingenious author, and constituted the basis of that valuable collection so ably described in these two Parts. A brief outline of their contents will show that Mr. Marsden has made numerous and important additions to the original stock. In Part I., besides the curious introduction, we find "Coinage under the first khalifs, Mahomedan symbols, Khalifs of the race of Ommiah, Khalifs of the race of Al Abbas, Samanian dynasty, Seljûk dynasty, Ayubites of Egypt and Syria, Mamluk Bahrite Sultans of Egypt, Moghul Tartar dynasty of Persia, Timur or Tamerlane, Khâns of Kapchak, Mixed Symbols Christian and Mahomedan, Norman kings of Sicily, Kings of Georgia, Khalifs of Spain, Morabetin dynasty of Africa and Spain, Sherifs of Morocco and Fez, Ottoman or Turkish, Khans of Krim or the Crimea." In the second Part we have an account of coins belonging to the more Eastern division of the Asiatic continent, including Persia, India, and China, with the Indo-Chinese peninsulas, and the islands geographically connected with them as far as Japan; "comprehending in the whole (says Mr. M.) that portion of the world which, relatively to our own western situation, is denominated Oriental."—(Introd.) He proceeds accordingly to describe coins of the Persian dynasty of Sassanian kings, the Sufi race, Nadir Shâh and his successors, copper-money with figures, Patan or Afghan Sultans of Hindustân, Kings of the

East whose capital was Jaunpúr, Patan Sultan and Governors of Bengal, Moghul emperors of Hindustan, Tipu sultan of Mysore, ancient Hindu coins, South of India, Nepal, Asáin, Rangpúr, Jayanagara, Kuch Behar, Tiperah or Tripura, Jayautipurá, Manipura, Arrakan, Ava, Tavoy, Tanaserini and Mergui, Siam, Achin, Pulo Pinang, West coast of Sumatra, Java, Japan, China, and Miscellaneous Coins.

From this general statement of the contents, comprehending so many regions and families, those who possess coins which they suspect, but have not ascertained to be Oriental, may reasonably entertain a hope of finding in the numerous plates of this work, (most beautifully and accurately engraved,) the means of satisfying their doubts, and a reference to the letter-press will serve to explain the devices and inscriptions.

Although *Makrizi*, a celebrated Arabian author, asserts, that the khalif Omar caused money to be coined on the Persian model so early as the year 18 of the Mohammedan era (or 638 of Christ,) others date the first appearance of Musulman coinage in the year 76, (A. D. 695.) under Abdalmalek; "therefore," says Mr. Marsden, "until Cufic coins of a date more ancient than 76 shall be discovered, we are justified in assigning their first systematic introduction to Abdalmalek's reign," (p. xiv.) The formulary sentences which the legends of Mohammedan coins exhibit, are so little varied that we shall content ourselves with the mention of a few: peculiar to those of the Ommiah dynasty is a passage from the Koran, (chapter 112.) "God is one, God is eternal; he neither has begotten, nor was begotten; nor is there any one like to him."—On others we read, "There is but one God, to whom there is no companion or associate;"—some have the words "There is no God but God, Mohammed is the prophet of God," to which legend some coins of the *Shiah* or *Fatimites* add, "All is the friend of God." Among the oldest Cufic coins at present existing in European cabinets, one struck at Damascus about the year 698, (Anno Hegiræ 79,) may be reckoned the earliest; it is preserved at Stockholm in the Royal Academy's collection, and has been described by Clewberg, Tychsen, and Hallenberg: next in antiquity, perhaps, we may regard a *dirhem* of the year 85, (A. D. 704,) coined at the city of *Waset*; another *dirhem* (or silver piece) of the year 86, belongs to the Hunterian Cabinet at Glasgow. The earliest *dinar* or gold coin hitherto described, is one of the year 91, (A. D. 709,) preserved in the Naniian collection at Venice; and Mr. Marsden's cabinet possesses one of the year immediately following. On the gold coins of the early khalifs, we do not

find the names either of those places where they were struck, or of the princes who issued them. Damascus being the seat of government, it is generally supposed that the gold coinage was confined to the mint of that imperial city; but the *dirhems* or silver coins, which were struck in the provinces, as well as at Damascus, "never fail," says Mr. M. "to express the name of the place," (p. 8.). Sometimes a whole province is named, as on a coin of Hesham ben Abd al Malek, (A. H. 118. A. D. 731.) which exhibits as its legend, "In the name of God, this *dirhem* was struck in *Afrikiyah*"—a denomination by which the Arabian geographers understand that portion of Mauritania included between the Egyptian desert on the eastern side, and the kingdom of Tunis on the western, and which the Musulmáns subdued in the year 45 of their æra. *Misir* also, the proper name of Egypt, appears on coins to represent its capital city. *Andalus*, Andalusia, denotes the city of Corduba or Cordova, and *Medinah Sikilah*, the city of Palermo in Sicily, (p. 12.)

The word *dinár* (however wrong the application) is evidently borrowed from the Latin *denarius*, and *dirhem* from the Greek *drachma*: so it is presumed that *fels*, (in the plural *felus*.) the term for small copper or base money, comes from the Latin *foliis*. In the Dictionaries of Meninski and others, it is rendered by the word *obolus*. On a silver coin of Al Mansur (struck in 157. A. D. 773.) Mr. Marsden remarks the duplication of certain letters, which he thinks to have been designed for *بخ بخ* and equivalent to "Io triumphe!" and as they are found also on copper money of the same year, "they may have reference to some subject of public rejoicing," (p. 22.) he quotes in a note the Lexicon of Golius, who says, "*بخ* geminatum ad emphasin, interjectio laudantis, contenti et approbantis, Euge, Io, Evax!" Our ingenious author's conjecture might be confirmed by the words of a late traveller, who observes that the Persians express their approbation or satisfaction by repeating the interjection "*buh! bqh!*" which they write however *به به* whilst the Arabians render it more gutturally, "*bakh, bakh.*"

The earliest *dirhem* exhibiting a Sovereign's name, in Mr. Marsden's collection, is one of *Al Mahdi Muhammed*, coined at the "City of Peace," (*Baghdád*.) in 162. (A. D. 778.); and it gives that prince the title of *khalifah* (or vice-gerent of the Prophet), instead of *Amir al mumenin*, which had been the customary designation. A silver coin of the celebrated *Harún al*

*Rashid*, struck at *Basrah* in 182, (A. D. 798.) bears as part of its legend these words, "By command of the prince *Al Amir Muhammed*, son of the commander of the faithful;" then follows the name of *Jafar*. On the subject of this remarkable coin Mr. Marsden observes, that *Harún al Rashid*, "who is perhaps better known to the European world from the inimitable tales of the Thousand and one Nights, than from the page of Arabian history, judged it expedient to give notoriety to his declaration, that his son *Al Amir Muhammed* should be his successor in the empire, by the coinage of money bearing his name. In this inscription, indeed, the father is designated by his title only, whilst the name of the heir apparent is given at full length: it contains also the distinguished name of *Jáfar* the son of *Yahia al-Barmaki*, so celebrated for his talents, his unbounded influence with his master, and his unfortunate end. In this year, (182,) his father relinquished to him the situation of Vizir, which in 183 he also resigned in favor of his elder brother *Fadhel*, in order that, unembarrassed by the cares of administering the government, he might enjoy without interruption the society and friendship of the khalif, whose sister, in 184, he was encouraged to marry. Such, however, is the mutability of Fortune, that in the year 186, (or first month of 187,) he was put to death by order of his capricious sovereign, and the family of the *Barmaki* or *Barmecides* exterminated," (p. 39.)

The first Mohammedan prince whose coin in this collection exhibits a human figure, is the copper obolus of the *Seljuk* sultan *Kai Khosru Ben Kilij Arslán*, and may be dated from 600 to 607; it represents the monarch on horseback, habited in the Turkish costume, (p. 90.) The silver coins of another *Seljuk* prince, *Gheith-ed-din Kai Khosru*, hold a conspicuous place, says Mr. M. "in Oriental numismatics, and form a distinguished feature of this collection, which contains nine specimens in good preservation, some of the same year, but all from different dies. They exhibit, in workmanship by no means contemptible, the figure of a lion passant surmounted by a sun, or Sol in the constellation of Leo, under which, in those days of judicial astrology, it may be presumed that either the Sultan himself, or some person particularly dear to him, was born." From a passage of *Abu'l faraj*, here quoted, (in Latin, p. 97.) it seems probable that the lion and sun bore some reference to the horoscope of a Georgian princess, whom the sultan passionately loved, and whose image he was desirous of impressing on his coins. "*Filiam regis Georgianorum in uxorem duxit, quam perditè amavit; eoque ejus amore ductus est ut imaginem ipsius*



moneta imprimi vellet. Dātum est autem ei consilium, ut figuram Leonis, cui insisteret Sol, effingeret, ut ita horoscopum ipsius referret, votique interim compos fieret."

Our limits oblige us to omit a multiplicity of interesting passages which Mr. M. has scattered throughout his account of the Mohammedan coins. In the second Part (as our outline of the contents has already shown) are described many of considerable value and rarity which do not appertain to that class. We shall briefly notice one of the Persian monarch Sapor or *Sháhpúhr*, remarkable for the device on its reverse, a fire-altar with a human head appearing amidst the flames: this, by some ingenious antiquaries, has been supposed the representation of a *Feruar*, which, in Persian mythology, signifies "a separate spiritual existence of each living individual;" but Mr. M. informs us that "Sir William Ouseley, indeed, suggests a different explanation of this mysterious appearance, when he says, 'In the human head placed on a fire-altar, we may discover *Ormuzd* or the Divinity existing amidst flames,'" (Travels, Vol. i. p. 441.) On some other coins of the Sassanian princes, the name of *Khoslui* or *Khosrui* is found in characters which, as we learn from Mr. Marsden, (p. 443.) were first deciphered by Sir W. Ouseley, "and his reading of the obscure word has been sanctioned by the opinion of Baron de Sacy." "Ayant découvert la véritable orthographe et l'étymologie du mot *Khosrou* dans la langue *Zende*, je n'hésite plus (says the Baron with his wonted candour,) à me ranger à l'opinion de M. Ouseley," (Mém. de Litt. Orient. p. 224.)"

We have before noticed the beauty and accuracy of the fifty-seven plates, (engraved by Swaine,) illustrating this valuable work, which to many readers, besides professed antiquaries and orientalisists, will prove a considerable fund of information and entertainment.

*INSCRIPTIONES GRÆCÆ Vetustissimæ. Collegit, et observationes tum aliorum tum suas adjecit*  
**HUGO JACOBUS ROSE**, M. A. E Coll. S. S. Trin.  
*apud Cantabrigienses. Typis ac Sumtibus Academicis. Veneunt Londini apud J. Murray, 1825.*

It congratulates the literary world on the appearance of this long-expected Volume, which is, as far as we know, the first attempt made to classify the ancient Inscriptions of Greece, and by

means of fac-similes to render them available for the purpose of illustrating the language of that interesting country. The utility of such a publication is incontestable : we have no other means of investigating the rudiments of the finest language in the world, and of tracing its forms and varieties through successive ages and different dialects ; all existing Mss. are comparatively of a modern date, and very little of accurate information can be obtained from the works of the ancients themselves in archæological and antiquarian researches. Even the early and more philosophical writers of Greece, though they carried their own language to an astonishing extent, were very deficient in the true knowledge of its origin ;—one cause of which deficiency was their ignorance of the languages of other nations ; another was that sprightliness of disposition, which, though it was admirably suited to the cultivation of taste, certainly disqualified them for patient research and *inductive* philosophy. And if the writings of such men as Herodotus, Plato, and Aristotle, are apt to mislead the philologist in his inquiries, what can be expected from the works of Diodorus Siculus, Dionysius of Halicarnassus, Apollodorus, Eustathius, and others, who have led VIROS CLARISSIMOS ET DOCTISSIMOS of all countries and degrees into the most absurd errors and inconsistencies? Very wisely then has Mr. Rose acted in rejecting such authorities, or at least in thoroughly sifting them, with all the scruples of a man of sense and the acumen of a critic. He is also much to be commended for steering clear of those rocks, on which so many have struck, viz. the Deluge of Deucalion, the original seat of the Hellenes, the history of Cadmus, the origin of the Pelasgi, &c. Confessing his inability to discover the primary introduction of the Greek Alphabet into Europe, he very properly confines himself to the task of tracing it up from existing documents, to the highest point of antiquity which these authentic materials will enable him to reach. This is the right method of proceeding in all subjects of investigation. The rejection of hypothesis is more than one step towards the attainment of truth.

Nothing will place the value of Mr. Rose's publication in a stronger light, than a comparison of it with the labors of his predecessors in the same path. Let the reader inspect the works of Gruter, Muratori, Reinesius, &c. ; he will find them without order and arrangement ; inscriptions of the earliest ages intermingled amongst those of the latest ; Latin, Greek, and Etruscan, all huddled together, without any discrimination of the different characters in each language, without any classification with regard to age or orthography, and all abounding in

errors and inaccuracies of the most outrageous description. Mr. Rose has given several very curious instances of strange misapprehension in those from whom we should have expected better things. In an inscription edited by Montfaucon, who could have supposed that that illustrious scholar would have given the following lines, for an hexameter and pentameter verse, or even for Greek?

Κεῖμε δὲ παρὰ θείνα ἄλως νεμοισαν  
 "Τσάτα λύγρω ἐμοὶ δεια κείμενος πύλαγος."

Who can possibly guess what the following gibberish stands for in the same epigram?

Παροδίτα μεθεστα Σολσοπτο ταφον.

We will leave this line uncorrected, to exercise the ingenuity of our readers.—The whole epigram is full of similar errors; nor is it edited in a better style by Muratori: but—crimine ab uno Disce omnes.

It is only lately that any proper attention has been paid, not only by editors in publishing, but by travellers in copying, ancient inscriptions: this any one will perceive who takes the trouble of comparing the pages of Wheeler, Spon, and Pococke, with those of Dodwell, Walpole, Leake, and Cockerell. Indeed the early race of travellers, as they exercised but little discretion in copying, so they used but little diligence in searching for ancient monuments; and this paucity of materials is one reason of the inferiority of former editors: they were obliged in almost all cases to have recourse to conjectures, without having it in their power to confirm those conjectures. Had the collections of marbles, which now adorn both public and private museums, been in existence a century and a half ago, we should not have heard Montfaucon declaring that he had never seen the digamma inscribed upon any ancient monument, or a specimen of writing in the style called **ΒΟΥΣ-ΤΡΟΦΗΔΟΝ**; nor Dawes asserting that the letter **E** was never used by the ancient Greeks in place of the diphthong **EI**. Respecting the use to which publications like this of Mr. Rose may be turned, we need only refer to Mr. R. P. Knight's valuable remarks on the Greek Alphabet, his Prolegomena to Homer, his emendations of the Poet's text, and his discovery of interpolated passages. In such investigations nothing can be effected without a knowledge of the archaic forms of letters, expressions, and idiom; but this knowledge is to be acquired only by an inspection of ancient monuments, or fac-

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The true reading is—

Κεῖμαι δ' ἐν Σχερίῃ παρὰ θιν' ἄλως ἠνιμόισαν  
 "Τσάτα λύγρον ἐμοὶ διρκάμενος πύλαγος."

similes of their inscriptions; and to these latter a decided preference must be given even before the original documents themselves, inasmuch as they become *publici juris*, whilst the others are inaccessible except to a favored few.

But it is time that we should descend from general observations to the particular merits of the publication before us. We must premise, however, that in this article we can do little more than notice Mr. Rose's Prolegomena, a portion of his work which is full of varied research and important observations: in our future numbers we shall take opportunities of exhibiting some specimens of his most curious or interesting inscriptions, together with a complete list of what may be termed discoveries, or settled points, in the language, deduced from this pure source of criticism and philology. The first thing that strikes us in the work itself, is the judicious selection made by Mr. Rose, not only from the journals of travellers, and inedited monuments, but from the works of former editors, whose inaccuracies he has most ingeniously corrected. That his volume might not exceed due bounds, he has fixed upon the archonship of Euclid as a limit, (about which time the graphic art was fixed by something like public authority,) adding only a few inscriptions, where, as in the case of the Sandwich marble, the ancient orthography was preserved after the period above mentioned. The classification is as follows.—Class 1, contains those inscriptions which are written only from right to left, or else in the manner called **ΒΟΥΛΟΠΡΟΦΑΝΤΙΝΗ**. Class 2, contains those which are written in the common way, from left to right, but in archaic characters. Class 3, is divided into two sections, the first of which contains Attic inscriptions whose age may be ascertained; the second, those of which the age is doubtful. Class 4, comprehends those inscriptions, which, although they contain the digamma, are not of so ancient a date as the preceding: as these are chiefly in the Bæotic and Doric dialect, three sections of contemporaneous inscriptions are subjoined, although the digamma does not appear in them. Class 5, contains a few inscriptions, engraved after, though not long after the archonship of Euclid, but remarkable for their orthography. To Class 6, those are referred concerning the genuineness of which doubts exist. It was the Editor's intention to have added a seventh class, containing such inscriptions as might be useful in determining the various dialects. We blush whilst we record one of the reasons which he gives for its omission: "*quod hujusmodi inscriptiones apud se habere quosdam scio, quas tamen*

nec ipsi edunt, nec alicui quis edendas tradere volunt." This defect, however, is likely to be well repaired by the excellent work of Professor Böckh, to whom the Academy of Berlin has committed the important task of editing the most interesting Greek Inscriptions. The first fasciculus of this work has appeared subsequently to Mr. Rose's publication. Four numbers of a work appeared previously to it, in which Mr. R. found, to his great surprise, that he had been forestalled in most of the Elgin inscriptions by the Editor, who had for this purpose procured Mr. R.'s own copies in a very unhandsome manner from Professor Böckh. After the exposure of this artifice, p. lvi. we think that Mr. Osann cannot sit very easy in his professorial chair at Jena.

A great part of Mr. Rose's valuable *Prolegomena* is occupied in settling the forms of the most ancient Greek letters, of which a very accurate tabular view is given. The following are some of the most extraordinary. Iota was expressed by  $\Sigma$  or  $\zeta$ , X by  $\Psi$  or the head of an arrow, and lambda by  $\lambda$ , which was subsequently used as a mark of aspiration; but still amongst the earliest and most contorted characters the following forms are discovered, agreeing almost accurately with the Roman Alphabet, or that in use amongst ourselves at the present day.

#### ABCDEFGHIKVMNOPQRSTVXZ

We find also many valuable remarks concerning the changes made of letters in composition, for the sake of euphony; which changes are exhibited in a table.

Respecting the H used as an aspirate, Mr. R. proves that it was so employed in the very earliest times, long before its admission as a vowel.

The letter Coph or Koppa  $\phi$  is also found in these ancient monuments, though it was subsequently displaced by K. It is very commonly seen on the coins of Syracuse and Crotona; and Mr. R. proves, in opposition to Lanzi, that it was introduced into the early Italian alphabets, where it still exists, though a little changed in figure, as Q.

Contrary also to the opinion of Villosion, Mr. R. shows that the short vowels doubled, were never used to express the long vowels, before the introduction of the latter into the alphabet, as  $\eta$  for  $\eta$  or  $\omega$  for  $\omega$ .

The aspirated consonants  $\theta$ ,  $\phi$ ,  $\chi$  are discovered in the most ancient times; but the double consonants  $\xi$  and  $\psi$  are not found before the archonship of Euclid.

Although in very ancient inscriptions words were simplified by omitting the reduplication of consonants, as ἀλάλοις for ἀλλάλοις, yet a fashion very soon prevailed of reduplicating the sigma in syllables where it ought to occur but once, as Ἀριστοφάνης and τελεσστής, &c. In many inscriptions also of a comparatively modern date we find ancient forms retained, as ΑΓΑΘΕΙ ΤΥΧΕΙ, ΤΕΙ ΒΟΥΛΑΙ, &c.. This, Mr. Rose asserts, was not through carelessness, as Taylor thought, but by design, for the purpose of preserving old and well-known forms, as the Athenians preserved the inscription ΑΘΕ on their coin after the introduction of the η. The Athenian drachma, as Lord Aberdeen very justly remarks, constituted the great circulating medium of Southern Europe, as the Spanish dollar does at the present day; it was important therefore in a commercial point of view to preserve the ancient form of its die.

We give Mr. R.'s remarks on the letters Gamma and Delta in his own words, as a specimen of his style.

“Pergo ad eas litteras quæ semper in alphabeto Græco fuere. Multa sunt quæ ostendunt formam C pro Gamma antiquissimam esse. Legitur in nummis pervetustis, Gelanis, Rheginis, Segestæis, Agrigentinis, Morgantinis. Nec alia quævis forma extat in alphabetis Latinis vetustissimis. Inde nota illa ACNUS, CABINUS. Scaurus quidem diserte testatur in XII Tabulis scriptum esse NI PACUNT pro PAGUNT, et eandem formam se vidisse testatur in fœdere Græco aliquando in Cæsaris portis extanti. Nec dubium est quin poculum illud quod infra ponitur, quo scribitur ACAMEMNON, ex ima vetustate ad nos usque descenderit. Novam esse litteram G notat Diomedes, “in cuius locum” inquit “C solebat apponi,” et G omnibus vetustis Italiæ linguis deesse testantur Gorius et Lanzius. Et profecto de vetustissima Græcorum lingua quærentibus nulla dux tutior est quam vetustas Latina. Nec ego formam illam < (quam, ut supra dixi, postea versis, non mutatis, lineis per Λ et denique per Γ scripsere Græci) novam quandam figuram esse credo; cum autem sculptoribus lineas rectas quam circulares efficere facilius sit, veterem C per < imitati sunt. Quomodo vel quo tempore effectum sit apud Latinos, ut hæc litera, vi propria amissa, in locum elementi K partim (partim elementi S?) succederet, minime intelligo. In tabulis Eugubianis certe C vim Græcæ K habet, et liquido ibi extat litera G. Quod tamen in lingua Latina non risi multo postea effectum est, si Diomedis et adhuc amplioribus testibus adhibenda fides. Notandum est Knightium primam formam hujusce literæ rectam esse lineam I putare. Ita quidem, ut

ille vere, in tabula Petiliana scribitur. Ex hac linea paululum curvata factam esse sequentem formam statuit Vir cel. Eadem forma in nummo quodam Agrigentino occurrit.

“Delta vix dubium quin imprimis eodem modo quo hodie efficeretur (D). Hanc formam reperimus in marmoribus Larissæo et Wrayiano; et in Elea tabula atque aliis pervetustis formam huic gemellam sc. Δ; mutatione eodem modo sc. facta quo C in < mutabatur, Latini hic, ut in aliis literis, quam formam in Italiam transtulerant, eam retinere; unde nos derivantes literarum Græcarum formas antiquissimas habemus.” P. xxxv.

We quite agree in the opinion here expressed by Mr. Rose, that the Latin language is one of the best guides to the palæography of the Greek. The Latin was the first-born of this its parent, and the archaic forms of the latter, incorporated in the former, remained unchanged, after they were softened down and altered in the original. In the most ancient Greek inscriptions we find the aspirated consonants θ, φ, χ, but not the double letters ξ and ψ; the corresponding aspirates, as Lanzi observes, (*Sagg. de Ling. Etrusc. T. i. p. 216.*) are seen in the old Italian dialects: but as in the place of ξ and ψ the early Greeks used XΣ or ΚΣ, and ΦΣ or ΗΣ, so traces of this usage are discovered in the ancient Latin words DIXSERUNT, MAXSUMUS, &c. The very sound of many Greek words, as well as the forms of letters, may be recovered from the Latin, as in ἄγγελος, angelus, anchora, &c. Moreover the similarity of the Latin language to the parent Greek in one particular dialect alone, tends strongly to show, that all the various idioms of this latter proceeded from one original source, whether it be called Æolic, Doric, or Pelasgic. This language came with a migratory tribe from Asia, into Greece, from whence it passed over into Italy. How it separated, together with the people, into two distinct branches, each having its varieties, each so similar and so dissimilar to the other, is a problem, very difficult to determine: yet nothing in all history is better authenticated than the extraordinary difference in character, manners, and customs, between the Dorian and Ionian Greeks. It will be sufficient to illustrate this observation with a very few particulars. The Dorians were a calm, sedate, intrepid, magnanimous race of men, much addicted to agriculture, highly averse to a democratic form of government, but delighting in a government of Elders; they were of a severe taste, as the construction of their temples and other edifices shows, and their favourite deity was Apollo. The Ionians, on the contrary, are always represented as a less noble race, factious, democra-

tical and tyrannical, luxurious in their habits as well as in their edifices, fickle as the waves of that sea to which their attention was constantly directed, and to which they owed their power. Neptune, the ruler of the Ocean, was their favourite deity. If time permitted it, this contrast might be carried to a great length. We must now return to Mr. Rose.

Before we conclude our present remarks on his work, we must observe that he has given us an account of similar collections published by his predecessors, the first of which was edited by Mazzochi at Rome, A. D. 1521. We have also an interesting notice of the principal collectors of marbles, &c.; amongst whom the illustrious Venetian family of the Nani is pre-eminent. Due thanks are returned to the travellers Cockerell, Leake, and Hughes, for the contribution of their unedited inscriptions; to the late Mr. Payne, and the celebrated architect Wilkins, for similar assistance; to Lord Guildford, for the use of his noble library; to the late Professor Dobree, the present Bishops of Chester and Bristol, the Dean of Peterborough, and the Master of Caius Coll., for their valuable communications; and, though last not least, to the Syndics of the University Press for their liberality in defraying the expenses of publication.

We must not omit to mention that a valuable Appendix is subjoined to the work, comprising a great variety of very interesting matter. It is headed by a letter of the celebrated Bentley to his friend Dr. Mead, on the Sigeian inscription, on which Mr. Rose also has commented at large, and has very successfully refuted or corrected several, even of Bentley's opinions. Next to this is a letter of Dawes to Dr. Taylor on the same subject. Then comes a description by the late Dr. E. D. Clarke of the curious Burgonian vase discovered at Athens in 1814, on which we shall have more to say in our next number. No. 3, is an extremely interesting paper by D'Hancarville, on the ænigmatical emblems of ancient painting; and No. 4, contains Mr. R. P. Knight's learned dissertation on the Elean inscription, which has already appeared in the pages of the *Museum Criticum*. We next meet with a disquisition on the famous Laconian Decree against the musician Timotheus, and one on the Vas Dodwellianum. No. 7, is a very scholar-like commentary, with excellent restitutions and emendations, by the celebrated Thiersch on the Potidæan inscription, whilst No. 7 and last contains copies of inscriptions preserved in the library of Trinity College, Cambridge, with valuable notes, by the late Pro-



fessor Dobree, by whose death Mr. Rose appears to have lost one of his best friends, as Learning lost one of her greatest ornaments. In the very beginning also of the volume we find some very valuable Addenda, relating to acquisitions made by the Editor in a late tour upon the Continent, and which in several instances throw a considerable light upon passages in the body of the work.

When we have finally observed that the fac-similes of these archaic inscriptions appear to be very accurately given, that the notes display a vast store of philological research and critical acumen, whilst there runs through the whole a vein of the most commendable modesty, unsullied by any of that virulence and oburgatory language, which has too often disgraced the pages of literary men, we think we need say no more to recommend to general notice a volume which ought to be in the library of every one who pretends to the name of Scholar. If a second edition be not soon called for, it will be disgraceful to this country, which, after all its boasting, is far behind many of the continental nations in the encouragement of literature.

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ON THE

*Formation, Connexion, and Divisions of the HEN-  
DECASYLLABIC MEASURES.*

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ALTHOUGH much labor and research have been directed of late to the classification of the measures used by the Greek Lyric Poets, it is surprising how little attention has been paid to the mode by which these measures were constructed at first, and diversified in such endless variety. For even granting that such systems as those of Dr. Burney, and Professor Herman, are fully entitled to the approbation which they have received from the learned, it must still be a desideratum to explain how those metres were produced, which have cost them so much trouble to arrange; since the early poets of Greece cannot be supposed to have constructed them according to the rules of a science which certainly was unknown at the time when they flourished. When Pindar and Æschylus composed their poetry it is probable that the double Dochmæe and the Anacrasis had never been heard of; and it is therefore deserving of in-

qu岸ry what principle it was which directed them in the formation of their verses. This has been in so far explained by some of the Latin Grammarians, and in particular by Marius Victorinus<sup>1</sup> who has shown how by the addition, subtraction, and transposition of syllables, a verse may be made to assume many different forms, and thereby assimilate itself to a variety of metres. He is at great pains to inculcate that the Dactylic and Iambic are the only elementary measures, from which all the others have been derived by the simple process just now alluded to. These two measures he calls "*sola prototyporum prototypa et omnium metrorum elementa*." Both of them he says are as ancient as Homer,<sup>2</sup> who used the Dactylic Hexameter in his heroic poems, and the Iambic in his *Margites*, a work mentioned by Aristotle, but which has not been transmitted to us. It was by combining the different sections of these two measures, that all the varieties used by the Lyric Poets were produced. As the invention of most of these Lyric metres is generally ascribed to Archilochus,<sup>3</sup> who lived several centuries after Homer, it is clear that the simple measures had been in use long before the compound measures were thought of.—To trace all these measures to their origin would be a work of immense labor; I shall therefore restrain myself at present to the *Heptasyllabics*, and attempt to explain in what manner they were at first constructed, and how afterwards they were divided into a multiplicity of lesser metres. Before proceeding, I think it proper to state, that in quoting from the works of Pindar, and the Choral odes of the Dramatic poets, I have seldom ventured to depart far from the old arrangement of the Scholiasts, whose authority I consider entitled to more estimation than it has received from the recent editors<sup>4</sup> of these authors. I must say that, although the Scholiast on Pindar (whom I have studied more than the other,) has been

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<sup>1</sup> Lib. iii. Ed. Sanctandriana, 1581.

<sup>2</sup> Lib. iii.—Mallius Theodorus has this remark upon the invention of the Dactylic Hexameter—"Metrum dactylicum hexametrum inventum primitus ab Orpheo Critias asserit, Democritus a Musæo, Persinus a Lino, permulti ab Homero."—De Metris, c. iv. Diodorus Siculus (Bibliothec. iii.) ascribes the invention of rhythm and metres to Linus. Terentianus Maurus relates, that the Heroic and Iambic Measures were first used in celebrating the victory of Apollo over the Python. De Litt. Syll. Ped. et Metr. ed. Sanctand.

<sup>3</sup> See Marius Victorinus, u. s.—Hephæstion, c. 15.—Bentley ap. Horat. Epod. xi.

<sup>4</sup> It is to be regretted that Porson has sometimes altered the arrangement of the verses in the Choral odes for the worse. I shall give an ex.

guilty of several mistakes in explaining the different measures, many of which, however, I am disposed to attribute to the carelessness of transcribers, I have never seen any other arrangement deserving to supersede his; and Herman and Boeckh, by departing from it, and remodelling the lines upon new principles,<sup>1</sup> have produced such monstrous verses, as I will venture to say are not to be found in the works of any other Lyric poet, whether of ancient or modern times. Were either of these arrangements to be adopted, it would prove intolerably harsh to ears which had been previously tuned to the vulgar rhythm of the Pindaric numbers. The grand principle upon which these schemes have been constructed is derived from the observation of that acute critic Richard Dawes,<sup>2</sup> who remarked that in some of the Odes certain lines in all the Strophes and Antistrophes terminated in short syllables, and shrewdly conjectured that this had not happened accidentally. The German Critics, improving on this discovery, have condemned all such lines as imperfect, and by joining them to the "subsequent ones in a manner often very arbitrary, they have produced such verses as would have made Aristarchus stare. The following examples will show the nature of their arrangements.

τίνα θεόν, τίν' ἤρωα, τίνα ἀνδρά κελεύσομεν. Ol. ii. Herman.

Διός, Ὀλυμπιάδα δ' ἔστασεν Ἡρακλῆς. Id. Herman.

εὐσυνύμων τε πατέρων ἄνωτον, ὀρθόπολιν. Id. Herman.

ἄτε διαπρέποι νυκτὶ μέγαν ὀρος ἔξοχα πλούτου. Ol. i. Boeckh.

ἀναιδέα Γανυμήδει πότμον ἀλάλκε σὺν Κυπρογενεῖ. Ol. x. Boeckh.

Disregarding all such anomalous verses, in which I can perceive neither rhythm nor measure, I shall now attempt to account for the formation of a certain class of verses, which

ample from his *Orestes*, in which he has arranged two lines as follows :

Ἀργεῖον ξίφος ἐκ θανάτου πίφηνγα  
βαρβάρους ὑμῶν ἰσίν. l. 1364.

Now it appears from Terentianus Maurus (Ed. Sanct. p. 74.) and from Marius Victorinus (lib. iii.) that the old arrangement was,

Ἀργεῖον ξίφος ἐκ θανάτου  
πίφηνγα βαρβάρους ὑμῶν ἰσίν.

<sup>1</sup> Those who are ignorant of the enthusiasm for innovation in Literature, which prevails at present among the German scholars, may form some idea of it from the effects which Boeckhius ascribes to it. "Vidimus enim nostris temporibus universam fere studiorum faciem immutari; quæ olim certa, in dubitationem adducta; quæ dubia nunc explorata; quæ falsa prius, et nunc vera; quæ vera, falsa habentur." This *Radical Reform* in Science has not yet taken place among us.

<sup>2</sup> *Miscellanea Critica*.

frequently occur in the more regular arrangement formerly adopted.

It is well known, that both the Dactylic Hexameter and the Iambic Senarian measures delight in the Penthemimer cæsure—thus :

Μῆνιν ἄειδε θεὰ. Iliad. i. 1.

Ἡὼς δ' ἐκ λεχέων. Iliad. viii. 1.

Ὡ τέκνα Κρόνου. Œd. Tyr. l. 1.

Ἀκτὴ μὲν ἦδε. Philoctet. l. 1.

Here it is to be remarked, that the final syllable of the Dactylic Penthemimer is necessarily always long, whereas that of the Iambic is common.

This division forms favorite measures of the Lyric poets. The following are examples of the Iambic Penthemimer :

πάτερ Λυκάμβρα. Schol. Hephest. ed. Gaisford.

ἵππων ἄωτον. Pind. Ol. iii. 6.

βροτῶν ἔλεγχας. Pind. Ol. iv. 30.

And the following are Dactylic Penthemimers.<sup>1</sup>

Ἡρακλῆος προτέρα. Ol. iii. 19.

Ἀμφιτρωνιάδης. Ol. iii. 26.

Arboribusque comæ. Horat.

By joining two Iambic Penthemimers, they formed this verse,

δίκαν χιμαίρας ὑπερθε βωμοῦ.

Æschyl. Agam. 224. ed. Blomfield.

εὐίππον, εὐπωλον, εὐδάλασσον.

Soph. Œd. Col. 743. ed. Musgrave.

This verse sometimes occurs Catalectic, as,

φίλου τριτόσπονδον εὐποτμόν τ'. Æschyl. Agam. 237.

θέλει τὸδ' ἄγχιστον Ἀπίας. Ibid. 247.

By joining two Dactylic Penthemimers they formed the Elegiac,<sup>2</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Terentianus Maurus calls this measure Epodus.

<sup>2</sup> It is evident from the nature of the Dactylic Penthemimer, as stated above, that the last syllable of the first colon must necessarily be always long. Terentianus Maurus expresses himself somewhat doubtfully upon this point, but concludes with this remark :

Malo tamen longa claudere comma prius.

De Metris, &c. Ed. Sanctand.

Aristides Quintilianus is more decided: οὐ πέρυκειν ἀριθμὸν τὸ τὴν μὲν τῆς πρώτης συζυγίας συλλαβὴν περιττὴν ἔξ ἀνάγκης μακρὰν ἔχειν—(περὶ Μουσικῆς.)

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παίσατε, τῶν δ' ἐτέων ἡ δεκάς οὐκ ὀλίγη. Hephæst. p. 93.

δουλοσύναν στύγερὰν ἀμφιβαλοῦσα κἄρα. Eurip. Androm. 110.

Fluminis ad liquidas forte sedemus aquas. Buchanan.

The Elegiac Catalectic is called Asclepiadean, as

Mæcenas atavis edite regibus. Horat.

By joining an Iambic Penthemimer to a Dactylic they formed the Encomialogicus :

\*Ιστραυ ἀπὸ σχιαρᾶν παγᾶν ἐνεικεν. Pind. Ol. iii. 25.

ἦ ῥ' ἔτι Δινομένει τῷ Τυρράκηῳ. Hephæst.

Carmina bella magis vellem senari. Serv. ap. Putsch. p. 1825.

He calls it Ænitiologium. The Scholiast on Pindar says, that it was so called because panegyrics (ἐγκώμια) were originally written in this measure.

The following verse is an Encomialogicus Catalectic :

Τυνδαρίδαις τε φιλοξείνοις ἀδεῖν. Pind. Ol. iii. 1.

Ἀλκιμέδοντα δὲ πᾶρ Κρόνου λόφῳ. Pind. Ol. viii. 22.

By joining a Dactylic to an Iambic Penthemimer they formed the Iambelegus :

πρῶτὸν μὲν εὐβουλον θέμιν οὐρανίαν. Hephæstion.

\*Ἄργος χαλινόν. Δώδεκα δὲ πλεόντερον. Pind. Pyth. iv. 44.

κλέπτουσι μύθους οἱ μεγάλοι βασιλῆς. Soph. Ajax, l. 189.

καὶ πιστὸν ὄρκιον μεγάλας ἀρεταῖς. Ol. xi. 6.

Amore cogis scribere versiculos. Plotius ap. Putsch.

The Iambelegus Catalectic is the celebrated Hendecasyllabic measure of Alcæus.

ὦ νᾶξ Ἀπολλων, παῖ μεγάλου Διός. Hephæst. p. 80.

τὸ μὲν γὰρ ἔνθεν κύμα κυλίνδεται. Alcæus.

Vides ut altâ stet nive candidum. Horat. Od. 9.

The *Alcaicus Major* formed in this manner is classed by Hephæstion with the measures mixed κατ' ἀντιπάθειαν, under the name of Epionicus à majori. He gives the following canon for it.

α β α β	β β α α	β α α
β β α β	β β α α	β α α
α β α β	α β α α	β α α
β β α β	α β α α	β α α *

It appears, therefore, that he makes the fifth foot common, and this rule accords with our remark, that the last syllable of the Iambic Penthemimer may be either short or long. Ruden and Dr. Carey lay it down that this syllable is always long; and perhaps they are right as regards the Latin Poets,

"qui musas colunt severiores," but it was otherwise with the Greek.

From the Alcaic Hendecasyllabic is formed the *Sapphic* (as is remarked by Atilius Fortunatianus, Putsch. 2701.), by transposing the first syllable of this verse to the end:

thus,

τὸ μὲν γὰρ ἔνθεν κῦμα κυλίνδεται. (Alcaic.)

μὲν γὰρ ἔνθεν κῦμα κυλίνδεται τό. (Sapphic.)

like

φαίνεται μοι κείνος ἴσος θεοῖσι.

The *Phaleucian* Hendecasyllabic measure is formed (as is remarked by Marius Victorinus, lib. iv.) by transposing the first two syllables of the *Sapphic* to the end of the verse:

thus,

μὲν γὰρ ἔνθεν κῦμα κυλίνδεται—————(Sapphic.)

ἔνθεν κῦμα κυλίνδεται τὸ μὲν | γὰρ. (Phaleucian.)

If the first syllable, of the *Iambelegus* be taken away, the verse becomes the Hendecasyllabic called *Prosodiacus*:<sup>1</sup>

thus,

πρῶτον μὲν εὐβουλὸν θέμις οὐρανίαν. (Iambelegus.)

τὸν μὲν εὐβουλὸν θέμις οὐρανίαν. (Prosodiacus.)

We have now seen that there are four Hendecasyllabic<sup>2</sup> Measures formed from the *Iambelegus*, by the transposition of syllables.

1st. The Alcaic.

Μέλαγχρος αἰδῶς ἄξις εἰς πόλιν. Hephæst. p. 80.

2d. The Sapphic.

ἀθλονικίας δὲ μάλιστ' αἰοιδάν. Pind. N. iii. 11.

<sup>1</sup> See Scholiast on Pindar, Ol. iii. 5. Marius Victorinus ap. Putsch. 2580. Plotius ap. eundem 2664.

<sup>2</sup> Besides these there are other Hendecasyllabic measures. The following one is a pure Choriambic:

ἔμοι ξυνίης διὰ πάντος εὐφρων.

Soph. Ajax 715.

Another Hendecasyllabic.—See Porson. Add. ad Hecub. Gaisford ap. Hephæst. (p. 307.)

Postquam res Asiæ primus ab oris. Terentianus Maurus.

τόλμα δ' οὐ γὰρ ἀνάξεις ποτ' ἵνιρθεν.

Eurip. Alcest. 1007. ed. Monck.

Another Hendecasyllabic.—See Gaisford ap. Hephæst. p. 307.

ἄθουσαι δ' οἶά νιν δραμόντε βῆκχαι.

Eurip. Orest. 1501. ed. Porson.

We mean to confine our attention at present to the Hendecasyllabics formed from the *Iambelegus*.

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### 3d. The Phaleucian.

Ζηνὸς ἀμφὶ πανήγυριν Λυκαίου. Pind. Ol. ix. 145.

### 4th. The Prosodiac.

ἀλλ' ὅμως εὐχορδον ἔγειρε λύραν. Pind. N. x. 39.

Having thus explained how the Hendecasyllabics were constructed from the primary elements of all the measures, I shall now show how they were split into a variety of divisions, so as to form other measures. I shall begin with the Phaleucian.

### *Divisions of the Phaleucian Hendecasyllabic.*<sup>1</sup>

The first foot of the Phaleucian may be Iambus, Trochæus, or Spondæus. Terentianus Maurus quotes the following examples from Catullus :

Meas esse aliquid putare nugas.

Arido modo pumice expolitur.

Cui dono lepidum novum libellum.

From the last example take away the first syllable, and you leave

dono lepidum novum libellum.

like

θοᾶς <sup>2</sup> ἀκάτους ἐπ' οἶδμα λίμνας. Eurip. Hecub. 446.

οἰκτρὰν βιοτὰν ἔχουσιν οἴκοις. Ibid. 457.

ἴκου τὰ κράτιστα γὰρ ἔπαυλα. Soph. Œd. C. 701.

Take away two syllables from the beginning, and you leave a Choriambic Dimeter Hypercatalectic.

Thus from

Meas esse aliquid putare nugas—

take away two syllables, and you leave

Esse aliquid putare nugas—

<sup>1</sup> The following is a Phaleucian with an additional syllable in the beginning :

ἔχει μὲν Ἀνδρομέδῃ καλὸν ἑμοιβάν.

Hephæst. p. 82.

This line is a Phaleucian Hypercatalectic in the end :

στηρίζει ποτὶ τὸν ἄλ' ἀγωνίην σφαλῶ.

Soph. Ajax 195.

See also Pind. Isth. vii. 17.

This verse has an additional syllable :

ὄθρου καθαρῶντις εἰσι δὲ μᾶτην.

Æschyl. Choeph. 71.

which is like

πάντ' ὁ μέγας χρόνος μαγαίνει. Soph. Ajax 725.

Take away three syllables and you leave the Lesser Ionic Dimeter ἀνακλώμενον;—thus,

Aliquid putare nugas—

which is like

Paphias amor columbas. Marius Victorinus lib. ii.<sup>1</sup>

προχολᾷ σέβωμεν ὕμνοις. Æschyl. Suppl. 1038.

The other divisions in this order are pure Iambics or Trochaics.

Take away the last syllable of this Phaleucian,

Aut quam sidera multa cum tacet nox. Catullus.

and you leave

Aut quam sidera multa cum tacet.

which is like

Nunc Trojam fera vindicat Venus. M. Victorinus.

Take away the last two syllables, and you leave the *Enneasyllabic*, called also Hipponactean by Hephæstion, who ranks it with the Antispastics.

In this manner from

Meas esse aliquid putare nugas

is formed

Meas esse aliquid putare,

which is like

καὶ κνίσσῃ τινὰ θυμὴσ' αἶς. Hephæst.

The first foot may be Iambus, Trochæus, Spondæus, or Tribrachys, as the examples will show.

τάλαινα' οὐκέτι σ' ἐμβατεύσω. Eurip. Hecub. 901.

ἄτε ποντοπόρους κομίζεις. Ibid. 445.

κόπῃ πεμπομένην τάλαιναν. Ibid. 455.

μετὰ γε σωφροσύνας μετίσχον. Iph. Aul. 545.

Take away the last three syllables, and you leave the *Glyconic*,<sup>2</sup>—thus:

Meas esse aliquid puta.

It admits Iambus, Trochæus, Spondæus, and Tribrachys, in the first place, thus:

<sup>1</sup> Consult Terentianus Maurus, de sextâ tome Hendecasyllabi.

<sup>2</sup> Atilius Fortunatianus and several others of the old Grammarians make the Glyconic a fragment of the Heroic, but Diomedes very properly derives it from the Phaleucian.



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ἄριστον μὲν ὕδωρ, ὃ δὲ Pind. Ol. i. 1.  
 οὐδὲ θερμὸν ὕδωρ τόσον. Pind. Nem. iv. 6.  
 πόντου θῖνος ἐρήμενος. Sophocl. Philoc. 1124.  
 ὅτι κε σὺν χαρίτων τύχα. Pind. Nem. iv. 11.

Pyrrhichius ought, I think, to be rejected, although it is admitted, as Plotius remarks, by some "non bene curiosis."

Herman has greatly enlarged the liberties of the Glyconic measure. De Metris lib. iii. c. 2.

Take away the last four syllables, and you leave the *Pherecratian*, which admits the same liberties as the Glyconic, thus :

ἰάποισι πολίταις. Sept. contra Thebas l. 286.

χρυσὸς αἰθόμενον πῦρ. Pind. Ol. i. 2.

ἦ νάσων ἀλιήρει. Eurip. Hecub. 465.

δύναμις ὡς τὸ μὲν οὐδέν. Pind. N. vi. 5.

Take away the last five syllables, and you leave a measure much used by the Lyric poets, consisting of a Choriambus with a Base<sup>1</sup> prefixed, thus :

πόνων κεκριμένων. Pind. N. iv. 2.

τε Διὶ καὶ Νεμέα. Ibid. 14.

κάρτερος Τελάμων. Ibid. 40.

(These are corresponding lines.)

ἐκ μὲν δὴ πολέμων. Antig. 156. Ed. Musgrave.

The next division in this order forms a Dochmiac, and the following one an Antispastus. It is not necessary to give examples of these.

### *Divisions of the Sapphic Hendecasyllabic.*

The Sapphic has Iambus, Trochæus, or Tribrachys in the first place.

Κλεάνδρῳ<sup>2</sup> τις ἀλικία τε λύτρον. Pind. Isth. viii. 1.

Canebas eos puero colendu. Plotius ap. Putsch.

ξένος ἐς αὐγὰς ἀελίοιο δεῖξαι. Eurip. Orest. 812.

The second foot may be Spondæus or Trochæus.

φαίνεται μοι κείνος ἴσος θεοῖσι—

παῖ Διὸς δολόπλοκε, λίσσομαί σε—

<sup>1</sup> By a Base I understand any of the four Dissyllabic feet (except Pyrrhichius) or Tribrachys.

<sup>2</sup> Hephæstion (p. 79) calls this the Pindaric Hendecasyllabic.

Otium et reges prius et beatas.  
Otium, Catulle, tibi molestum est.

The Sapphic<sup>1</sup> wanting the first syllable corresponds with the Epionic ἀνακλώμενον. From the last example take away the first syllable and you leave,

Διδὸς δολόπλοκε λίσσομαί σε.

This verse corresponds with Hephæstion's canon for the Epionic Trimeter ἀνακλώμενον. Ed. Gaisford. p. 82.

α·β α β      α α β α      β α β β  
β β α β      α α β α      β α β α

Take away two syllables and you leave the Enneasyllabic, which has been already treated of under the Divisions of the Phaleucian. Thus from the line

Ire dejectum monumenta regis,  
take away two syllables, and you leave  
dejectum monumenta regis,  
which is like,

εὐίππου, ξένη, τάσδε χώρας. Ed. Col. 700.

Take away three syllables and you leave a verse which is called Ionicus à majori by the Grammarians. If the second foot of the Sapphic was Spondaeus, the verse that remains will contain a pure Ionicus à majori; but if it was Trochæus, the first foot of the other will be Pæon secundus. This accords exactly with the laws of the Ionic measures.<sup>2</sup>

From the line

φαίνεται μοι κείνος ἴσος θεοῖσι,  
take away the first three syllables and you leave,  
μοι κείνος ἴσος θεοῖσι—

which is like

ὦ πότνια μοῖσα μάτερ. Pind. N. iii. 1. See Eurip. Alcest.  
1021, 1022.

From this line

παῖ Διδὸς δολόπλοκε λίσσομαί σε,

<sup>1</sup> The Sapphic with an additional syllable in the beginning forms the measure called by Hephæstion the Alcaic Dodecasyllabic:

ἰσπλόχ' ἀγνὸ μινιχόμινδι Σαπφῶϊ.

<sup>2</sup> See Gaisford's Hephæstion p. 65; also Aristides Quintilianus ap. eund.; and Servius ap. Putsch. Herman rejects Pæon secundus without sufficient grounds.

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take away the first three syllables, and you leave

δολοπλόκε λίσσομαί σε— \*

which is like,

ἐλίσσόμεναί μ' ἔπεμψαν. Ol. iv. 5.

Take away the first four syllables, and you leave the measure called Choriambic Dimeter Catalectic.

From the line

Belluis nec te metuende certa,

take away four syllables and you leave,

Te metuende certa

which is like,

Lydia dic per omnes. Horat. i. 8.

ἑξαπατῶντι μῦθοι. Ol. i. 47.

The following divisions in this order, correspond with the Iambic and Trochaic measures.

If the last syllable of the Sapphic be taken away, the verse that remains, is an Epichoriambic.

From the line

Eripit sensus mihi : nam simul te

take away the last syllable,

Eripit sensus mihi : nam simul—

which is like,

ὦ πολύξεινος καὶ ἐλεύθερος. Eurip. Alc. 579.

Take away the last two syllables, and you leave a verse which has been called Epichoriambic Dimeter Hypercatalectic. See Hephæst. p. 79. ed. Gaisford. Arist. Quintil. a. e. p. 199.

Thus from the verse,

Ille si fas est superare Divos,

take away two syllables, and you leave

Ille si fas est superare.

The following example from Anacreon (ap. Heraclidem Ponticum) agrees with this verse, but ought probably to be ranked with Trochaics.

νηλεῶς φεύγεις ῥηκίοις δέ.

- An example from Pindar :

πατὴρ ἀγλαὸν Τελεσάρχον. Isth. viii. 3.

Take away the last three syllables, and you leave a measure much used by the Greek Lyric poets, which the Grammarians would call Epichoriambic.

From the line

Grandinis misit pater et rubenti,

take away three syllables, and you leave

Grandinis misit pater et—

which is like

σύνδικον μοισᾶν κτεάνων. Pind. Pyth. i.

The following examples are varieties.

Ἀλέξανδρος εἰλατίναν. Eurip. Hecuba 630.

καὶ βοτῆρας ἱππονόμους. Soph. Agam. 233.<sup>1</sup>

If the last four syllables are taken away, the verse which remains will resemble the last part of the Eupolidean Metre.

Thus from the line,

Canebas eos puero colendo,

take away four syllables and you leave

Canebas eos puer—

which agrees with

πρὸς ὕμᾱς ἐλευθέρωσ. Aristoph. Nubes 514.

The other divisions are not deserving of notice.

### Divisions of the Alcaic Hendecasyllabic.

Take away the last syllable and you form this measure,

Δίψη δὲ πρᾶγος ἄλλο μὲν ἄλλου. Pind. Nem. iii. 10.

<sup>1</sup> By joining the measure formed from the last seven syllables to this one, Horace constructed the measure which he uses in the eighth Ode of the first book, thus:

ἀγκύλῃ κρατὶ γλαφάρων: ἐξαπατῶντι μῦθοι.

which agrees with,

Te deos oro Syharim, cur properas amando.

By altering one syllable it becomes a pure Choriambic:

Te deus oro Sybarim, cur properas amando—

which agrees with,

Omne nemus cum fluviis, omne canat profundum. Claudian.

Atilius Fortunatianus (Putsch. 2683.) blames the poet for having formed a metre, the rhythm of which so much resembled a Choriambic without being one. Dr. Bentley espouses the cause of the Poet, but fails to show what principle directed him in forming this uncommon measure. The first division of Horace's measure is the same with the first division of the Eupolidean,

δὲ θεώμενοι κατεργῶ.

Aristoph. Nubes 514.

It also formed the first division of the Priapean as used by Euphoriion. See Hephæstion p. 105.

οὐ βίβηλοι, δὲ τιλείται.

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Take away the last two syllables and you form this measure,

*Πρώραθεν Ἐϋφάμιος καταβάς.* Pind. Pyth. iv. 39.

*ἐνθ' ὀλβίοισιν Ἑμμενίδαυς.* Pind. Pyth. vi. 5.

See also Pyth. vii. 21.—Eurip. Alcest. 589:

The other divisions in this order are pure Iambics.

Take away the last syllable of the Iambic Penthemimer, and you leave this verse.

*Ἀρχεστράτου παῖδα πόθι φρένός.* Pind. Ol. x. 2.

*θέλοντες ἀγαγεῖν ἐπικώμιον.* Pind. Pyth. x. 9.

This verse being deprived of another syllable constitutes the following,

*μὲν πρῶτον, ὦ Ζεῦ, τίν' ἄατον.* Pind. Isth. vi. 5.

The Alcaic wanting the first syllable agrees with the Sapphic Catalectic,

*ὦ πολύξεινος καὶ ἐλεύθερος.* Eurip. Alcest. 579.

From the Alcaic verse

*Quem sors dicrum cunque dabit lucro*

take away the first two syllables, and you leave

*Dierum cunque dabit lucro—*

which nearly resembles this line,

*Ἔρως, ἔρως, ὁ κατ' ὁμμάτων.* Eurip. Hippol. 530.

The corresponding line is,

*ἄλλως, ἄλλως παρά τ' Ἀλφείω.*

It may be ranked either with the Epionics or the Doric Iambics; for the Doric poets admitted Spondæus in the even places of the Iambics.<sup>1</sup>

Take away the first three syllables, and you leave the GlycERIC;—thus from

*Vides ut alta stet nive candidum*

take away three syllables, and you leave

*alta stet nive candidum.*

Take away the first four syllables, and you leave a verse which is an IONICUS à majori Dimeter Catalectic.

Thus, the verse

*Soracte nec jam sustineant onus,*

<sup>1</sup> See the Scholiast on Pindar Nem. vi. 1. *ἐν γὰρ τῇ δευτέρᾳ χώρῃ ἐστὶν ὁ σπονδαῖος, ποτὶ δὲ τοῦτο παρὰ τοῖς Δωρικοῖς.* De Pauw upon mere conjecture changed the last word to *Δωρικοῖς*. Priscian (De Metris Comicis) quotes Heliodorus to prove that Pindar used Spondæus in the even places.

thus altered becomes,

nec jam sustineant onus—<sup>o</sup>

which agrees with

φωνᾶεν Ὀλυμπία. Pind. Ol. ix. 2.

The other divisions are too obvious to require notice.

*Divisions of the Prosodiac Hendecasyllabic.*

The Prosodiac<sup>1</sup> may begin with Epitritus secundus (—υ—) or Ditrochæus (—υ—<sup>o</sup>—υ—):

λίσσομαι παῖ Ζηνὸς ἐλευθερίου. Pind. Ol. xii. 1.

νῦν δ' Ὀλυμπία στεφανώσάμενος. Pind. Ol. xii. 25.

The Prosodiac Catalectic is the same as the Sapphic Catalectic.

ὦ πολύξεινος καὶ ἐλεύθερος. Eurip. Alcest. 579.

Take away two syllables, and you leave a verse already treated of under the Divisions of the Sapphic,

πατὴρ ἀγλαὸν Τελεσάρχου. Isth. viii. 3.

Take away three syllables, and you leave a verse which also comes under the Divisions of the Sapphic:

σύνδικον μοισᾶν κτέανον. Pyth. i. 3.

Φασγάνῳ τὲ μαρναμένα. Pyth. ix. 98.

The other divisions in this order are pure Trochaics.

The Prosodiac wanting the last syllable of the Trochaic portion, forms this verse:

εὐδίαν δὲ μετὰ χειμέριον. Pyth. v. 12.

Take away the first syllable and you form this verse:

κλυτᾷ<sup>2</sup> φόρμιγγι συναντόμενοι. Isth. ii. 3.

ἐξαίρετον χάριτων νέμομαι. Ol. ix. 39.

Take away the first two syllables and you leave a Dactylic Penthemimer with a Base prefixed. The following is an example of a Trochæus resolved:

ποταμίας ἔδος Ἀρτέμιδος. Pyth. ii. 13.

<sup>1</sup> This verse is an example of Prosodiac Hypercatalectic:

κἀγορὰ βουλαφόροι· αἱ γὰρ μὴ ἀνδρῶν.

Pind. Ol. xii. 6.

<sup>2</sup> It appears, however, that the Scholiast made the verse a complete Prosodiac by a different arrangement:

Ἐς δῖφρον Μοισᾶν ἱβαι-

νον, κλυτᾷ φόρμιγγι συναντόμενοι.

The alteration was made by Schmidius, for which he is reprehended by De Pauw with his wonted severity.

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Take away the first three syllables and you leave a measure much used by Pindar, which has been called Prosodiac Dimeter Catalectic :

καλλιπλοκάμῳ θ' Ἑλένα. Ol. iii. 2.

The other divisions are too obvious to deserve notice.

I trust that I have now been able to give a satisfactory explanation of the formation and connexion of the principal Hendecasyllabics, and of the process by which they were afterwards divided into a multitude of other metres, which though in appearance very dissimilar can all be traced to one common origin. By observing the combinations with which the other sections of a leading Dactylic and Iambic measures were formed, and their subsequent divisions into lesser verses, the student may soon familiarise himself with all the metres used by the Greek Lyric Poets. *Ex uno disce omnes.*

F. ADAMS.

Banchory Ternan, April 10th, 1826.

### *On the Lesser Ionic Measure.*

Dr. Seale in his valuable Analysis of the Greek Metres (p. 40. note B) has endeavoured to prove that, contrary to the account of the learned Mr. Heath, the Iambic Syzygy, and not the Trochaic, is the substitute for the proper foot in this measure; and Professor Dunbar, probably by copying from him, has delivered the same doctrine in his work entitled "*Prosodia Græca.*" I mean to show, however, that this account is contrary to the authority of the ancient Grammarians, and in opposition to the general principles upon which the Lesser Ionic metre is constructed.

Surely it must have been through some strange inadvertence, that Dr. Seale has referred to the following passage in the Enchiridion of Hephæstion in support of the rule which he lays down—'Απ' ἐλάσσονος δὲ ΕΠΙΩΝΙΚΟΝ τρίμετρον ἀκατάλεκτόν ἐστι παρ' Ἀλκμαῖνι. ὃ τὴν μὲν ἔχει ιαμβικὴν ἐξάσημον, ἢ ἐπτάσημον. τὰς δὲ ἐξῆς δύο, Ἰωνικὰς ἐξασήμονας καθαρὰς, ὅσον περισσὴν, αἱ γὰρ Ἀπόλλων ὁ Λυκείος  
Ἰνὼ θαλασσομεδοιστᾶν ἀπο μασδῶν.

καινὴν δὲ αὐτοῦ οὗτος,

α β α β                      α α β β                      α α β β

β β α β                      α α β β                      α α β α

καὶ τὸν μὲν ὄντος τοῦ Ἰωνικοῦ, τοῦτο. κ. τ. λ. Hephæstion. Ed. Gaisford p. 81. ed. De Pauw. p. 47.





the measures of Pindar. In the *Persæ* and in the *Supplices* of Æschylus many examples occur of lines consisting of two lesser Ionic feet mixed with lines consisting of an Ionicus à minore with a Trochaic Syzygy, from which the alliance of the two verses may be inferred, although I am not acquainted with any unexceptionable example, of the one standing for the other. The reason of this seems to be, that the rhythm of the lesser Ionic measure is much impaired by the admixture of foreign feet, as is remarked by Mallius Theodorus,—“*alios huic metro pedes idcirco quidam interserendos crediderunt, ut copiam et facultatem etiam auferent, sed nihil in his, quod aures blandi accipere possunt, invenimus. Atque ideo longe melius commodiusque censemus, ut metrum Ionicum a minore eo quo supra exposuimus modo, unius pedis ingeminatione expleatur, neque alius quisquam pes sequatur, quo ad sociato non modo ei externa suavitas acquirenda, sed propria amittenda sit.*”—*De Metris*, p. 51.

F. ADAMS.

*Banchory Ternan, April 10th, 1826.*

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NOTICE OF  
ANCIENT UNEDITED MONUMENTS of  
GRECIAN ART; from Collections in various  
countries; principally in Great Britain.

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FROM the notices given in former Numbers of this Journal, our readers are already well acquainted with the nature and value of Mr. Millingen's archaeological writings. The portion of his “Ancient Monuments” now before us (No. VIII.) is devoted to Greek Vases, and finishes the volume which treats on that subject; another number, relating to sculptured marbles, we understand, is on the eve of publication.—Continuing to explain the engravings which illustrate this interesting work, (and which are colored in exact imitation of the original paintings,) our ingenious author describes a vase from the collection of Chevalier Bartholdy at Rome; it exhibits a youthful figure (perhaps *Ἔρως* or Love) descending with expanded wings towards an altar. In each hand he holds a *Φιάλη*, emblematic of libations and sacrifices; one cup seems to contain wine, the other milk. That the vase was intended for an amatory present would appear from the inscription *ΚΑΛΟΣ ΧΑΡΜΙΑΗΣ* on one side, and *ΤΕΣΙΑΣ ΚΑΛΟΣ* on the other: this may be supposed the donor's name, or perhaps the gift was designed

for two friends or brothers. The appellation generally given to winged figures resembling this, Mr. Millingen considers as erroneous and totally destitute of authority: most of them, he says (p. 79.), represent Love or his brothers, *Ἔρως* and *Πόθος*; but some, from the want of sufficient attributes, cannot be determined.—(Plate xxxi.) Another vase belonging to the same collection.—(Pl. xxxii.) represents Menelaus, who, after the siege of Troy, having regained Helen, appears leading her towards the fleet. His first intention, to kill the faithless beauty, was, if we may believe some authors, defeated by the interference of Venus. Helen's charms revived his ancient love; and in this painting his looks are fixed on the ground, with an expression of sullen silence and irresolution between conflicting passions. Helen appears with downcast eyes, in deep affliction, and anxious concerning her fate.

A Vase (see Plates xxxiii, and xxxiv.) in which the names are affixed to the personages represented, has the singular merit of containing portraits of the illustrious Lesbians, the parents of Lyric poetry, Alcæus and Sappho, contemporaries and rivals in talents and celebrity.—Alcæus, in the prime of life, (with a thick and flowing beard,) appears to address Sappho; he sings and accompanies his voice with the lyre. She seems to listen, and tunes her lyre as if impatient to reply. Our learned author remarks (p. 83), that the great poetess of Mitylene has, in many instances, been confounded with another Sappho, a courtesan born at Eresus in the same island, and supposed also to have cultivated poetry: and it is most probable, that the passion of Sappho for Phaon, and her leap from the Leucadian rock into the sea, relate to the courtesan of Eresus and not to the Mitylenian poetess: her name is written *ΣΑΦΟ* on this vase, which was found near Girgenti in Sicily. A female figure (Pl. xxxv.) takes from a box a long fillet which she displays to a young man, who views it with earnest attention; he holds a branch of laurel: this subject probably relates to some ceremony in honor of the dead, as the vase seems intended for funeral purposes. On the reverse of the same vase we behold two young men standing by the stele or sepulchral monument of Œdipus, on which is a distich in capital letters, but in common orthography, (the particle *μὲν* being restored,) as follows:

*Νῶτα μὲν μαλάχην τε καὶ ἀσφόδελον πολύριζον,  
Κόλπῳ δ' Οἰδιπόδαν Λαίου υἱὸν ἔχω.*

"On my back are mallows and the many-rooted asphodel; but in my bosom I enclose Œdipus, the son of Laius." (Pl. xxxvi.)

## §48 Notice of Millingen's *Monuments*.

On one of those 'vases, generally but erroneously called "*lachrymatories*," (but which are *lecythi*, serving to contain oil, perfumes and cosmetics), we see a lady seated, who receives from a female attendant some ornament for the head and a small vase, precisely the same in form as that on which the painting is executed: the exclamation *HE ΠΑΙΣ ΚΑΛΕ* (ἡ παῖς καλὴ) "the beautiful girl" distinguishes vases offered to ladies; a mirror is suspended on the wall.—(Pl. xxxvii.)

After Dionysiaca subjects, the most frequent on all ancient works of art are those relating to Hercules; and fictile vases of an early epoch represent various exploits of that hero not found on other monuments, generally of an age less remote. Plate xxxviii. (from a vase in the Louvre at Paris), exhibits the combat between Hercules and Cycnus, which is celebrated in "*the Shield*," an episode ascribed to Hesiod, but here, for the first time, commemorated in painting, with circumstances of the action somewhat different from those described by the poet. Hercules does not appear in the armour presented to him by Minerva, but clad in his lion's skin; Cycnus, however, wears complete armour: the inscription *ΗΕΡΑΚΛΕΣ* and *ΚΤΚΝΟΣ* indicate the personages; whilst *ΔΙΟΣ ΠΑΙΣ* recalls the illustrious origin of the Theban hero. (p. 92.) The reverse exhibits an Amazon mounted on horseback and pursuing a Greek soldier. The subject of Plate xxxix. appeared, at first sight, to represent the combat of Hercules with the Amazons: but Mr. Millingen thinks it more probable that his antagonists here are the Actorides, or sons of Actor by Molione (and thence called sometimes Molionides), who repulsed the hero's attacks on Elis, until placing himself in ambush, he surprised and killed them on their way to the Isthmian games. Elis, deprived of their assistance, fell an easy prey to Hercules. This vase is in the author's collection. Another (Pl. xl.), belonging to Signor Giuseppe di Crescenza at Naples, represents Memnon proceeding to assist Priam; he is on horseback, two warriors accompany him: the costume and arms are partly Greek and partly Asiatic. Memnon's helmet resembles a Persian tiara. This painting is "probably taken from one of those great compositions representing various events of the Trojan war, with which temples and public edifices were so frequently embellished." (p. 94). Some "additional observations" follow, and with this number are given an index to the whole volume (concerning Greek vases), and the dedication "to William Hamilton, Esq., author of *Ægyptiaca*, so eminently distinguished by his constant endeavours to promote in Great Britain the lite-

rature and the fine arts, to which ancient Greece is indebted for its chief and lasting glory." There is also an "introduction," (for the whole volume,) in which Mr. Millingen declares, that study and experience enable him to confirm the opinion expressed ten years ago, respecting fictile vases, which are, he says, of "all classes of ancient monuments the most important to the advancement of archæology." Within our present limits we cannot do justice to the ingenuity and erudition displayed in this introduction. We may, perhaps, revert to it on another occasion, and shall conclude our notice with a passage (from p. v.) in which Mr. Millingen censures those antiquaries who, entertaining preconceived notions, only sought arguments favorable to their own systems. "Some of these authors," he says, "have gone so far as to claim a greater knowledge of the early history of Greece and of its religion, than the Greeks themselves, whom they accuse of ignorance and prejudice. (See D'Hancarville, &c.) The character of this systematic school of writers cannot be expressed better than in the very words which one, perhaps the most extravagant of all, applies to those from whom he differs. *Many, in the wantonness of their fancy, yielded to the most idle surmises, and that to a degree of licentiousness for which no learning nor ingenuity can atone.*" (Bryant's *Analys. of Anc. Mythol.* 1. p. 129.)

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NOTICE OF  
*THE HISTORY OF THE REFORMATION*  
*under Henry VIII. by Henry Soames, M. A.*  
2 vols. 8vo. London. 1826.

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THE excellence of this work must plead as an excuse (if any is needed) for noticing it in a Classical Journal. A work of this nature, combining the valuable information of Burnet and Strype, and adapting them for popular reading, was much wanted; and we venture fully to recommend Mr. Soames' work as meeting this object. When so many false, garbled and erroneous statements are industriously put forth concerning the interesting period of which these volumes treat, it is highly desirable that a work, written in a vigorous and entertaining manner and from the best sources, should be presented to the public. That de-

## 350 *A Tribute to the Bishop of Durham.*

sideratum these volumes amply supply. We hope Mr. Soames will *continue* his history, and we think it would enhance the value of his work, if an appendix of documentary papers were given from Burnet or Strype at the end of each volume. The most full, unexceptionable, and original authority for the facts recorded, is a point particularly to be aimed at in works like the present.

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### *A Tribute to the Memory of the late Venerable BISHOP of DURHAM.*

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נִשְׁמֹת הַצְּדִיקִים בְּיַד אֱלֹהִים  
דָּרַע, לֹא יָנַע בָּם  
הַצְּדִיקִים יִחְיוּ לְעוֹלָם  
נִמְאָלָם עִם אֲדָנִי  
וּמִשְׁמֶרֶתָם עִם עֲלִיוֹן  
וּמַלְכוּת כְּבוֹד יִתֵּן לָהֶם  
וְעֲטָרַת תְּפָאֶרֶת יִקְחוּ מִיָּדוֹ  
כִּי בִימֵינוּ יָגוּ עֲלֵיהֶם  
וּפְזָרֵנוּ יִשְׁעֵךָ לָהֶם  
אֲשֶׁר־י עֲשֶׂה אֲשֶׁר מִבְּלִי מוֹם  
וְאֲשֶׁר לֹא יִלְךְ אַחֲרֵי זָהָב  
עַל-כֵּן תִּאֲמַנְנָה שׁוֹבוֹתֶיךָ  
וּפִעַל חֲסִדֶּיךָ יִסְפָּר קִדְלָם  
פֶּה נָתַן לְאַבְיּוֹנִים  
צִדְקָתוֹ עֲמֹדַת לֵעַד  
קִרְנוֹ תְרוֹם בְּכָבוֹד  
אֲשֶׁר־הוּא אֲשֶׁר בָּא בְּשָׁלוֹם  
וְאֲשֶׁר מִעֲמֻלֵּי הַבֵּית  
שְׁמוֹר תָּם וְדָאָה יִשָּׁר  
כִּי אַחֲרֵית לְאִישׁ שָׁלוֹם :

*T. Y. British Museum.*

NOTICE OF  
*PHOTII BIBLIOTHECA, ex recens. Imm. Bekkeri (Græce). 2 tom. 4to. Berolini, 1824-5..*

THE title of this new edition of Photius not having been given quite accurately in a former number, we repeat it. Under the text are some various readings, from two or three Mss., an account of which is given in a short preface. We see no reason why this author should not have descended to the convenient octavo size, have been accompanied by a Latin version, and been illustrated with a few pertinent notes.

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LITERARY INTELLIGENCE.

LATELY PUBLISHED.

*The Greek Testament, with English Notes; Second Edition.* Containing copious Critical, Philological, and Explanatory Notes in English from the most eminent Critics and Interpreters: with parallel passages from the Classics, and with references to Vigerus for Idioms, and Bos for Ellipses. The various readings are recorded under the text. Greek and English Indexes are added. By the Rev. E. Valpy, B.D. Three volumes 8vo. Price 2*l.* 5*s.*

This work is intended for the use of Students in Divinity, as well as the Library.

*The Delphin and Variorum Classics, Nos. LXXXIX. to XCII., containing Plinius (Senior). Pr. 1*l.* 1*s.* per No.—Large paper, double. Present Subscription, 983.*

As it may not be convenient to new Subscribers to purchase at once all the Nos. now published, Mr. V. will accommodate such by delivering one or two back Nos. with each new No. till the set is completed. —STEPHENS' GREEK THESAURUS may be subscribed for on the same terms.

*Stephens' Greek Thesaurus, No. XXXVIII.* The work is certainly comprised in 39 Nos. The copies of some deceased Subscribers may still be had at 1*l.* 5*s.* Small, and 2*l.* 12*s.* 6*d.* Large Paper; but the Prices will soon be raised to 1*l.* 7*s.* Small, and 2*l.* 15*s.* Large. Subscribers always remain at the

price at which they originally enter. Nos. I. to XXXVIII. contain above 15,000 words omitted by STEPHENS. Total Subscribers, Large and Small paper, 1086. The copies printed are strictly limited to the number of Subscribers. The Index, Preface, &c. will be published this year.

Purchasers of Copies that are not complete are requested to take up the deficient Nos. before the publication of the Index, or 27s. will be charged for each No. in suspense: Large paper, double.

Old English and Hebrew Proverbs explained and illustrated. By William Carpenter. Beautifully printed in 32mo.

Just published, in 4to, 18s. boards, uniformly printed with Dr. Todd's Edition of Johnson's Dictionary, ETYMONS OF ENGLISH WORDS. By the late John Thomson, M.R.I. and A.S. Private Secretary to the Marquis of Hastings, in India.

The object of this work is to trace the descent of English words: their affinity with the different dialects of Gothic spoken in Europe; and the connexion between our own and some other tongues both of Europe and Asia,—without introducing any remarks where the general meaning is obvious.

Printed for Oliver and Boyd, Edinburgh; and Longman, Rees, Orme, Brown, and Green, London.

Sophoclis Tragoediæ septem ac deperditt. Fragg.—emen-  
davit C. G. A. Erfurdt; acc. Lex. Soph. et Index Vol. vii.  
8vo. Lipsiæ, 1825. A concluding volume to Erfurdt's edition  
of Sophocles.

D. Ruhnkenii in Terentii Comœdias Dictata, Brunsiano exem-  
plo emendatus, &c. &c. cura L. Schopeni. 8vo. Bonnæ 1825

Lexicologus, oder Beiträge zur Griechischen Wort. Erk-  
tærung hauptsächlich für Homer und Hesiod: von Ph. Butt-  
mann Dr. Berlin, 1825. 8vo.

Etudes Grecques sur Virgile, &c. par Eichhoff. Paris, 8vo.  
1825.

Εισοφάντος Ἀπομνημονεύματα καὶ Πλάτωνος Γοργίας: ἐκδιδόντος  
καὶ διορθούντος Α. Κ. 1825. Paris, 8vo. (The editor is the learned  
M. P. G.)

Essai sur la Langue Grecque, ou Précis de sa formation, de  
sa grammaire, et de sa prosodie; avec des notes contenant sur-

tout des applications au Latin : par M. Gresset, Professeur, &c. Toulouse, 1825. 8vo.

La Rhétorique d'Aristote, Grec-Français, avec des notes, etc. ; traduction nouvelle par M. E. Gros, Professeur, etc. Paris, 1822. 8vo.

De Epitritis Doriis Dissertatio, auctore G. Hermann. Lipsiæ, 1824. 4to.

De Emendationibus per transpositionem verborum Dissertatio, auctore G. Hermann. Lipsiæ, 1824. 4to.

Themata Anglo-Latina ad usum juventutis, &c. Latinè vertit F. J. Goffaux, olim prof. ling. Lat. in Scholâ *Great Baddow* propè *Chelmsford* in *Essex*, deinde prof. in Univ. Paris., auctor Latini *Robinson Crusoe*. 1826. 8vo. Paris.—(It is a single sheet, published by the author as a specimen of the work, the manuscript of which is to be sold.)

Ἰωάννου Ἀλεξανδρέως τινικὰ Παραγγέλματα : Αἰλίου Ἡρωδιανοῦ περὶ σχημάτων. Edidit G. Dindorf. Lipsiæ, 1825. 8vo.

Les Chants de Tyrtée, traduits en vers Français par Firmin Didot. Paris, 1826. 8vo.

Lettre à l'Académie Royale de Lisbonne sur le Texte des *Lusiades* (par M. Mablini). Paris, 1826. 8vo.

Νικολάου Ἐπισκόπου Μεθώνης Ἀνάπτυξις τῆς Θεολογικῆς Στοιχειώσεως Πρόκλου Πλατωνικοῦ. Primum edidit, annotationemque subjecit, J. Th. Væmel. Francof. ad Mæn. 1825. 8vo. It is the 4th Part of the *Initia Philosophiæ ac Theologiæ ex Platonicis fontibus ducta*, three Parts of which were published by the learned Creuzer.

ΕΤΡΙΠΙΔΗΣ. Curante J. Fr. Boissonade, Tomes III. et IV. Paris, 1826. 32mo. The fifth volume contains the fragments and the epistles.

Notes d'un Voyage fait dans le Levant, en 1816 et 1817. (By Ambr. Firmin Didot.) Paris, 1826. 8vo.

A Popular Introduction to the Study of the Holy Scriptures, designed for the use of mere English readers. In two parts. Part I.—Rules for reading the Bible. Part II.—Helps towards a right understanding thereof ; comprising Introductions to the several Books ; a Summary of Biblical Antiquities, Geo-



graphy, Natural History, &c. By William Carpenter, Editor of the *Critica Biblica*, *Scripture Magazine*, *Calendarium Palestinae*, &c. In one large vol. 8vo. with maps and plates.

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## FOREIGN LITERARY INTELLIGENCE.

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### *Contents of the Journal des Savans for January, 1826.*

1. Relation d'expériences pour déterminer la figure de la terre par les vibrations du pendule à secondes à diverses latitudes, &c. ; par M. Edouard Sabine. [Second article de M. Biot.]

2. Essais Historiques sur le Rouergue, par le Baron de Gaujal. tomes 1 et 2. [M. Raynouard.]

3. Specimen Historico-criticum exhibens vitam Ahmedis Tullonidæ, &c. [M. le Baron Silvestre de Sacy.]

4. Platonis Philebus, recensuit, prolegomenis et commentariis illustravit Godofredus Stalbaum. [3me article de M. Cousin.]

#### Nouvelles Littéraires.

FEB.—1. Hoa-tsean : Chinese Courtship in verse, to which is added an appendix treating of the revenue in China. [M. Abel-Rémusat.]

2. Dissertation sur le Periple de Scylax, par M. J. F. Gail fils. [M. Letronne.]

3. Sur un vase grec récemment découvert à Nola. [M. Raoul Rochette.]

4. Annales Islamismi, sive Tabulæ Synchronistico-chronologicæ Chalifarum et Regum Orientis et Occidentis, &c. Edidit D. Lassen Rasmussen. [M. le Baron Silvestre de Sacy.]

5. Œuvres complètes de Descartes, publiées par M. Victor Cousin. [M. Daunou.]

#### Nouvelles Littéraires.

MARCH.—1. Histoire de la Législation, par M. le Marquis de Pastoret ; tomes 5, 6, et 7. [M. Raynouard.]

2. Historia de la Dominacion de los Arabes in España, sacada de varios manuscritos y memorias arabigas, por el doctor Don

Jose-Antonio Conde. History of the Domination of the Arabs and the Moors in Spain and Portugal, digested from the history translated from the Arabic into Spanish of M. Joseph Condé, by M. de Marlès. [M. le Baron Silvestre de Sacy.]

3. Des dents des Mammifères considérées comme caractères zoologiques ; par M. Frédéric Cuvier. [M. Tessier.]

4. Synopsis Plantarum quas in itinere ad plagam æquinoctialem Orbis Novi collegerunt Alex. de Humboldt et Am. Bonpland. Auctore C. S. Kunth. [M. Abel-Rémusat.]

5. Note sur le Manuscrit Grec de la Bibliothèque Royale de Paris, no. 2016. [M. Cousin.]

6. Rapport de la Commission nommée par l'Académie Royale des Inscriptions, pour examiner les résultats du Voyage en Cyrénaïque et en Marmarique, par M. Pachô. [M. Letronne.]

7. Histoire des Expéditions maritimes des Normands et de leur établissement en France au 10me siècle ; par G. P. Depping. [M. Daunou.]

Nouvelles Littéraires.

*Institut Royal de France, et Sociétés littéraires. Feb. 1826.*

At the public meeting of the *French Academy* on the 9th Feb. was read a fragment of the introduction to the History of France by the Viscount de Châteaubriant, entitled, First Discourse ; Invasion of the Barbarians ; Manners of the Roman Emperors ; Manners of the Christians, of the Pagans, and of the Barbarians.

*The Society of Arras for the encouragement of Sciences, &c.* demand " a piece of 200 verses, expressing the prayers of a Christian for the triumph of the Greeks."

*Foreign Books.*

1. Supplément au Dictionnaire de l'Académie Française, containing the terms appropriated to the Arts and Sciences, and the new words consecrated by custom, in 4to. 12 fr. Paris.

2. A short time ago was announced for publication at Paris an inedited work of J. J. Rousseau, entitled *Pensées d'un esprit droit et Sentimens d'un cœur vertueux*, *Thoughts of an upright mind and Sentiments of a virtuous heart*; a work under this title has just appeared, printed from an autograph MS. of J. J. Rousseau, entitled *Mœurs, Caractères*. Ce vol. in 8vo. se vend 2½ francs.

3. \* The Sanscrit Grammar and Dictionary by General Boisse-

rolle already announced, will soon be published at Paris in 4to. The Price of the Grammar will be 50 francs, that of the Dictionary 100 fr.

4. *Saggio, &c.*: an essay on the Hebrew characters used at the time of the Patriarchs and in the succeeding ages, by M. Giuseppe Vigevano. Reggio. In 4to. with 12 plates.

5. *Catalogo de' Papiri Egiziani della biblioteca Vaticana*; Catalogue of the Egyptian writings on Papyrus forming 15 plates exhibited in one of the halls of the library of the Vatican. Rome. At the press of the Vatican. In 4to. 1825. The explanation of these inscriptions is by M. Champollion junior. M. Mai has also added observations on a work, entitled *Monumenti Egiziani*, lately printed at Rome.

6. The 1001 Nights in Arabic, as printed after the edition given by M. Max. Habicht, professor of Arabic at Breslaw, vol. 1st.

7. *Solonis Atheniensis Carmina quæ supersunt, disposuit, emendavit, annotationibus instruxit et dissertationem de Solone poetâ præmisit Nic. Bachius.* Bonnæ. Weber, in 8vo. 1825.

8. *Platonis Crito*, Græcè, cum commentario perpetuo; ed. Lowe. Lipsiæ. Kayser, 1825, in 8vo.

9. M. Champollion-Figeac has published the description of a Latin MS. of the Chronicle of Eusebius, deposited in the library of the Society of Geography of Paris. It is in square folio, on vellum, containing 119 leaves. The Latin version is the same with that which Joseph Scaliger printed, but it has some variations suggested by M. Champollion. For example, after the words *Hic est Amenophis quem quidam Memnonem putant lapidem loquentem*, the manuscript adds: "Cujus statua usque ad adventum Christi sole oriente vocem dare dicebatur; tunc enim conticuit. Hanc statuum ipse sibi posuit." Other additions relate to Hyrcanus, predecessor of Herod, the reign of Augustus, &c. One of the most extraordinary is, that which affirms that Tertullian composed his apology in the last year of the reign of Tiberius.

10. *De statu et conditione Paganorum sub Imperatoribus Christianis post Constantinum*, auctore Samuele Rudiger. Breslau, 1825: 8vo. 85 pages.

11. *Chrestomathie Arabe*, or extracts from various writers in prose and in verse, with a French translation and with notes; 2d edition, corrected and enlarged, by the Baron Silvestre de Sacy, Paris, 1826. 1st vol. 8vo.

12. *Biographie Universelle*, ancient and modern, or an alphabetical history of the public and private life of all men who have distinguished themselves by their writings, actions, &c.; a work entirely new, edited by a Society of Literary men, vols. 43 and 44. Paris. Printed by Everat, and sold by L. G. Michaud, 1826. 2 vols. from Solander to Tarutius. It appears that this vast and important collection approaches its conclusion, and that there remain only about 4 vols. more to complete the work; the 45th and 46th vols. will appear in the course of 1826. The plan and character of this work will be seen in the *Journal des Savans*, Oct. 1824, page 580-586.

13. *Mélanges Asiatiques*, or a Selection of pieces of Criticism, and Memoirs relative to the religions, sciences, customs, history, and geography of the Oriental nations, by Abel Rémusat, 2d vol. Paris, 1826. 8vo.—Note, this 2d vol. is devoted exclusively to Chinese Literature.

14. Incerti Auctoris liber de expugnatione Memphidis et Alexandriæ, vulgo adscriptus Abou Abdallæ Muhammedi Omari filio, Wakidæo Medinensi. Textum Arabicum ex codice bibliothecæ L. B. descripsit plurimisque vitiis purgatum edidit, et annotationem adjecit H. Art. Hamaker. LL. OO. in Academiâ Lugd. Bat. prof. ordin. &c. Leyden. Puteschestwige, w Kitai, &c. Journey through Mongolia into China in 1820-1824, by Mr. Edward Timkowski. St. Petersburg, 1825, 2 vols. 4to.

15. M. T. Cicero in compendio; seu definitiones et sententiæ de Deor. ac religione, de animo humano, virtutibus et vitiis, de civitate et legibus, de bello et pace, de philosophiâ, literis, eloquentia et artibus, ex universis M. T. Ciceronis operibus collectæ et in systema redactæ, ab E. T. Hohler. Vindobonæ, Strauss, 1825. 8vo. price 1fl. 24kr.

#### IN THE PRESS.

The Mosaic Precepts elucidated and defended; by Moses Ben Maimon or Maimonides. Translated from the "More Nevochim;" and accompanied with Notes and Dissertations, and a life of Maimonides.

Quemadmodum adhuc viget, ita in omne ævum vigeat, MAIMONIDIS memoria.—BP. CLAVERING.

By James Townley, D. D. Author of Illustrations of Biblical Literature, &c. &c.

Dr. Nuttall, whose edition of Virgil's *Bucolics* and Juvenal's *Satires* interlineally translated, have been so generally approved, is preparing for publication, on a similar plan, the entire works of Horace; with a *Treatise on Lyric Versification*, and a scanning table, exhibiting, on musical principles, the various metres of Horace.

*The Gospel of St. Luke*; with English Notes. For the use of Students. By the Rev. J. R. Major, B. A. of Trin. Coll. Camb.

*An Analysis of Mitford's History of Greece*; in the form of questions for self-examination. For the use of Students in the Universities, and Public Schools. By the same.

*The Hecuba of Euripides*; with English Notes: comprising the whole of Porson's, translated; with a selection from other commentators: extracts from Matthiæ's Greek Grammar, etc. Prefixed is a translation of Porson's Preface and Supplement, and a Synopsis of metres in general. For the use of schools. By the same.

In the press and speedily will be published, for schools and universities, A *Prosodian Lexicon*; containing the interpretation in Latin and English, and the Quantities marked, of all words to be found in the Greek Poets from the earliest times till the reign of Ptolemy Philadelphus. By the Rev. John Brasse, B. D. late Fellow of Trinity Coll. Camb. One vol. 8vo.

The unrolling, deciphering, and printing of the *Herculaneum Mss.* is proceeding with more diligence than heretofore, and the following are in the press, and nearly ready for publication: Two *Treatises on Rhetoric* and one on *Ethics*, by Philodemus; two on *Nature*, by Epicurus; one by Chrysippus, on Providence. These will be succeeded by one of Camiscus, one of Polistratus, and one of Epicurus. It is not a little remarkable that the celebrated *Treatise on Politics*, always attributed to Aristotle, is ascribed by Philodemus to Theophrastus.

*Oriental Literature.* We have received information, that Professor Freytag of Bonn, long since known to the world as one of the best Arabic scholars of the age, has undertaken an edition and translation of HAMASA. This collection is better calculated to illustrate Ante-Mohammedan manners and opinions, than almost any work of the Arabs, which has come down

to us. Schultens made several extracts from it; these however are far from being the most interesting, which the manuscript contains. We trust, that the learned author will make a selection from the different Scholia, which exist on the HAMASA, in nearly all the universities of Europe; from these we may derive an insight into the customs, to which allusion is made, and also obtain many valuable observations on the idiomatic peculiarities of the text.

In addition to this splendid undertaking, Professor Freytag is busily engaged on a new and improved edition of Golius's Arabic Lexicon, which, although it be the most perfect Lexicon which we have with a Latin interpretation, is by no means adequate to the full explanation of Arabic roots and derivatives. The Professor will embody in his edition the substance of the KĀMŪS and SIHAH, which have long been *desiderata*. We trust that he will also enrich it from the scholia on HARRI, HAMADĀNI, and SOJŪTĪ, not forgetting those Mss. Lexica, which relate to technical terms. We have no doubt, that Oriental scholars will patronise these spirited endeavours, assured of the competency and avowed eminence of the Professor, and convinced that both these works are necessary to the prosecution of Eastern researches.

The Traveller Schulz has now in the press a Greek Testament, containing various new readings, and fixing only two recensions, the *Kóλη εἰσθεσις* and Alexandrine, which will when published subvert a great part of Griesbach's theory.

## TO CORRESPONDENTS.

*Vita S. Antonii* in our next.

In our next we shall give: *Remarks on Hunter*,—Notices of 'Bothe's Plautus,'—'Nugæ Hebraicæ,'—'Fundamental Greek Words,'—'Confession of Faith of Cyrillus Lucaris,'—&c. &c.

We intend in future 'to make the republication of SCARCE AND VALUABLE TRACTS the prominent feature of the *Classical Journal*, by which the Scholar and Student will have a ready and most economical access to what they can now with difficulty procure. We shall be glad if any of our correspondents can occasionally recommend a Tract of merit that is rarely to be seen.

## THE FOLLOWING SCARCE TRACTS

*are inserted in the NUMBERS already Published,*

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